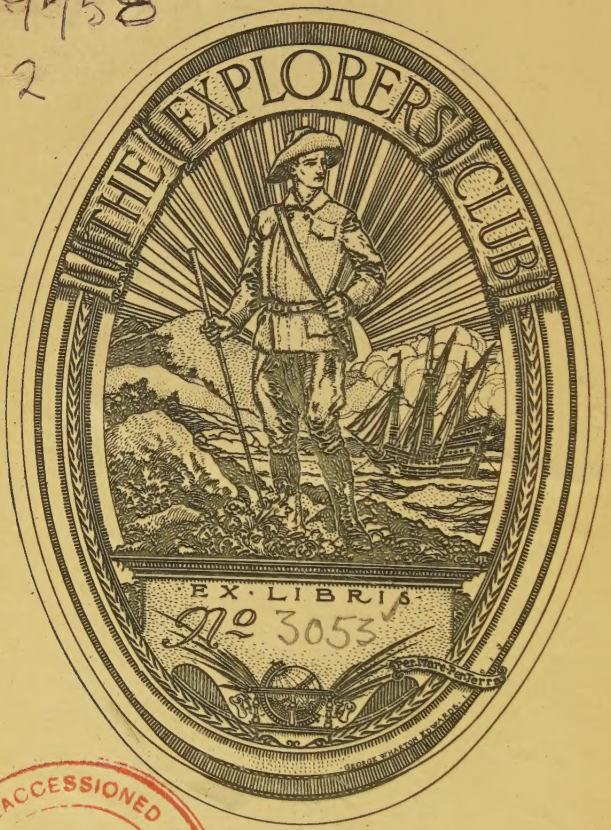
910.8
V9758
v. 2
v.2



DEACCESSIONED
THE EXPLORERS CLUB
E C
DEACCESSIONED

PRESENTED BY
James B. Ford

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/voyagestravels0002cray_i1k4

EXPLORERS CLUB
JAMES B. FORD LIBRARY

AN ENGLISH GARNER

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

mainly during the 16th and 17th Centuries

VOL. II

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY, F.R.G.S.

FELLOW OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD

Author of *The Dawn of Modern Geography*

1.25 net

NEW YORK

E. P. DUTTON AND CO.

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

THE texts contained in the present volume are reprinted with very slight alterations from the *English Garner* issued in eight volumes (1877-1890, London, 8vo) by Professor Arber, whose name is sufficient guarantee for the accurate collation of the texts with the rare originals, the old spelling being in most cases carefully modernised. The contents of the original *Garner* have been rearranged and now for the first time classified, under the general editorial supervision of Mr. Thomas Seccombe. Certain lacunae have been filled by the interpolation of fresh matter. The Introductions are wholly new and have been written specially for this issue.

Edinburgh: Printed by T. and A. CONSTABLE.

3053

CONTENTS TO VOLUME II.

PAGE

1. Jan Huyghen van Linschoten; Voyage to Goa and back, 1583-92, with his account of the East Indies. [From Linschoten's *Discourse of Voyages*, 1598], ... 1

2. The Voyage of the *Dog* to the Gulf of Mexico, 1589. [From the Hakluyt of 1589], ... 127

3. The Destruction of Portuguese Carracks by English seamen, 1592-94. [From the Hakluyt of 1599-1600], ... 129

4. Captain Nicholas Downton; The sinking of the Carrack, *The Five Wounds*, ... 145

5. Strange and Wonderful things happened to Richard Hasleton, 1582-92. [From the only extant copy of the original edition of 1595], ... 151

6. The antiquity of the trade with English ships into the Levant. [From the Hakluyt of 1599-1600], ... 181

7. Edward Wright, Mathematician; The Voyage of the Earl of Cumberland to the Azores, etc., 1589. [From Wright's *Certain Errors in Navigation*, 1599], ... 186

8. A Fight at Sea by the *Dolphin* of London, against Five of the Turks' Men-of-War, January 12, 1616 [-17]. [From the original edition of 1617], ... 213

PAGE

9. Sir Francis Drake Revived; a narrative of the Nombre de Dios' expedition of 1572-73. [From the original edition of 1626], ... 221

10. Nineteen years' Captivity in the Highlands of Ceylon, sustained by Captain Robert Knox, March 1660—October 1679. [From the original edition of *An Historical Relation*, etc., 1681], ... 295

11. A Relation of the Retaking of the island of Sainta Helena. [From the original edition of 1678], ... 433

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME II

THE second volume of these travels opens with an abridgment of the first part of the celebrated *Itinerario* of Jan Huygen van Linschoten—'John the son of Hugh,' from the village of Linschoten in Utrecht, the probable home of his forefathers, but not his own birthplace. The author was born at Haarlem in or about 1563; in 1573, either before or just after the great siege of Haarlem, by the Duke of Alva, the family removed to Enkhuizen in North Holland, a town which escaped the Spanish re-conquest. At the age of sixteen, on December 6, 1576, young Jan started on his travels, and his first objective was remarkable. It was the country with which his countrymen, and especially the city of Enkhuizen and the province of North Holland, were so desperately struggling. Political war co-existed with an active commerce, and Linschoten sailed from the Texel in a fleet of some eighty vessels, bound for San Lucar in Andalusia. After a stay of six years in Spain (as the narrative tells us), mainly in Seville and Lisbon, Jan sought employment in the East Indian fleet, like his half-brother Willem Tin, who went in the same ship as *schrevijn* or *clerk* (not *purser*, as in the English translation, vol. ii. p. 7, etc.). Shortly after Linschoten's arrival at Goa, on September 21, 1583, John Newberie, Ralph Fitch, William Leedes, and James Storey were brought there under arrest from Ormuz, accused of being spies in the pay of Don Antonio, pretender to the crown of Portugal.[1] Drake's voyages in the Pacific and East

[1] For Linschoten's account of this, see vol. i. pp. 324-30.

Indies were of recent occurrence, and Englishmen were now regarded as somewhat of a dubious blessing in the Portuguese East. It was therefore with difficulty that Linschoten, his friend and comrade Bernard Burcherts of Hamburg, and Thomas Stevens the Jesuit, procured the release of Newberie, Fitch, and the other Englishmen. In 1584 Burcherts returned to Europe by the Persian Gulf, the Euphrates, and Aleppo; but Linschoten remained, hoping vainly for an opportunity of extending his travels to Eastern Asia. China and Japan, he wrote to his parents, were about the same distance as Portugal from the Malabar coast, a three years' journey: a Dutch friend of Linschoten's, one Dirck Gerritsz, had just been to the Far East as a gunner, and had pressed him to go too. In those distant and favoured lands two hundred ducats might easily be turned into six or seven hundred; but the necessary capital was wanting. Gerritsz, nicknamed 'the Chinaman' from his China voyages, was born at Enkhuizen, and spent in all twenty-six years in the Indies. He returned in the same ship with Linschoten, which sailed from Cochin on January 20, 1589; and from him comes most of the information of the *Itinerario* about the navigation of the China seas. In 1598 he piloted the Dutch fleet on its first voyage by the South-West Passage (of Magellan's Straits) to India. His notes on India are occasionally embedded in Linschoten; but their only proper edition was in Lucas Jansz Waghenaer's *Thresoor der Zeevaert* (Leyden, 1592). The *Itinerario* of Linschoten, as we have suggested, contains the results, not only of Linschoten's own experience, but of that of many other travellers; and the author, it is clear, was a collector of Hakluytian industry and judgment. He appears to have been hard at work upon it from the time of his return to Enkhuizen (September 3,

1592) until the complete publication of this encyclopædic survey of 'Cape Commerce' and 'Cape Routes' in the beginning of 1596. On October 8, 1594, the States-General of Holland granted him a formal licence to publish, but the book was not then ready, although parts of it seem to have been informally circulated, and all its chief suggestions were known to and discussed among the leaders of Dutch commerce during 1595.

In compiling his great book Linschoten was greatly helped by the eminent scholar, Bernard ten Broecke, the physician of Enkhuizen, who in the world of letters was known as *Paludanus*, the Latin equivalent of his surname, for scholars were still ashamed to be known as John Brewer and Jim Baker. Many of the notes and not a few passages interpolated into the text are from the hand of Paludanus, whose comments, though learned enough, are not always as much in touch with fact and nature as could be desired.

The *Itinerario* is divided into three principal books or parts, the first containing the narrative of the journey proper, in ninety-nine chapters, running to six hundred and twenty-seven pages in the Hakluyt Society's (1885) reprint of the English translation of 1598. In the second part (the first to be published, in 1595) is a collection of the routes from Europe to East and West Indies alike, in many cases translated from unpublished manuscripts of Portuguese and Spanish pilots; here is also an abundant mass of notes on the routes of the China seas. This part of Linschoten's work had great political importance; it served as the chief guide to the Dutch fleets in their early expeditions to the East, and in their first attempts to wrest the mastery of the Indies from Spain and Portugal. In the third part we have

a brief description of the East and West coasts of Africa and a fuller account of America, mostly taken from earlier writers, such as Lopez on the Congo; Jean de Lery on Brazil; Peter Martyr and Oviedo on America in general. The *Itinerario* was originally illustrated by thirty-six maps, plans, and copperplate illustrations; in the Old English version of 1598 there are twenty-one topographical plates and thirty-two portraits and views. The world-map in the Dutch edition professes to be by J. Bapt. Vrient of Antwerp, famous as the publisher who bought the *Atlas* of Ortelius, and brought out an enlarged edition of the same. In the English edition the *mappe-monde* has the title *Orbis terrarum typus de integro multis in locis emendatus, Auctore Petro Plancio*, 1594; and in the left-hand corner, below the figure called *Mexicana*, is the inscription *Ioannes a Duetecum* [i.e. Doetechum] *junior fecit.* The other maps, in the English edition, include one of South-east Africa and part of the Indian Ocean, one of Western and Southern Asia from Egypt to Aracan (*imprinted at London by John Wolfe, graven by Robert Beckit*), one of Indo-China and the East Indian Archipelago, one of South Africa (*graven by William Rogers*), one of all Africa except the western hump, one of South America, one of South-western Africa and the Atlantic, one of Madagascar or St. Lawrence Island, one of Sumatra, one of Java Major, one of the Congo region, four of St. Helena (an engraved map and three profiles), one of Goa by Linschoten himself, one of Angra in Terceira (Azores), one of the two hemispheres (in small scale), and one of Spain.[1] From the resolutions of the States-General of Holland it appears that in 1592 Cornelius

[1] See De Jonge, *De opkomst van het Nederl. gezag in O. India*, vol. i. pp. 167-9; Tiele, intro. to Hak. Soc. ed. of Linschoten, pp. xvii-xix, xxx-xxxiii.

Claesz of Amsterdam, the printer and publisher of the *Itinerario*, aided by Peter Plancius, obtained a collection of sea-charts and routiers from Bartolommeo de Lasso, cosmographer to the King of Spain. The States gave Claesz a patent for printing and publishing not only the aforesaid, but also a *mappe-monde* or *land and sea-chart of the world*, drawn by Plancius and engraved by Joannes a Doetechum, as well as a chart of Asia made by an expert in the art of navigation at Goa in East India. The world-map of the *Itinerario* appears to be a reduced copy of the above-mentioned *mappe-monde* of Plancius; and extensive loans from De Lasso's collection are apparent in several of the sea-charts in Linschoten's work.

After his return from the East, Linschoten took part in the Dutch Arctic voyages of 1594 and 1595. In 1595 the first Dutch fleet sailed for the 'Indies of the Orient,' and we know from the journals of the expedition that the *Itinerario* was of the utmost value as a guide and directory. The second part of the same, comprising the Nautical Directory and Routes for the Indian and China seas, was already published (as we have pointed out) in 1595, and was greatly used on board the ships of this fleet; much also of the most important matter in the first part had been orally communicated to the leaders of the venture; and it is clear that the course of the voyage beyond the Cape of Good Hope and its special direction upon Java was due to the suggestions of Linschoten, who promised his countrymen a practical monopoly of the Java trade, 'for that the Portingales come not thither.'

In 1598 Linschoten (now settled in Enkhuizen for good) published a Dutch version of the great treatise of the Jesuit Acosta on Spanish America (*Historia natural y moral de las*

Indias), a work which he praises as far superior to the American sections of the third part of his own *Itinerario*; and in the same year Lucas Jansz Waghenaer in the preface to his new *Enkhuizen Zeekaertboek* thanks Linschoten for his help in the same, based on material derived from his northern voyages. In 1610 our traveller petitioned the States-General—unsuccessfully—for a pension; he did not long survive this rebuff; on the 8th February 1611 he died, at the very early age of forty-eight.

The *Itinerario* is one of the most valuable travel-records ever published, not only for its own subject-matter, but because it revealed to Holland and to other rivals of Spain and Portugal how weak the Eastern Empire of Philip II. really was. It thus played a most important part in exciting these rivals to active hostility in the East Indies, to the vigorous and persistent carrying out of what Drake had threatened in 1579, and Cavendish in 1587. As its political importance was speedily recognised, it soon met with readers out of the Netherlands. The famous old English translation (as well as a German) was published in 1598; two Latin versions appeared in 1599, and a French translation in 1610.

The English edition, here in part reprinted, is anonymous, but in the title to the second part (*The true and perfect description of . . . Guinea . . .*) W. P. (William Phillip?) is styled the translator. The version here given is loose, periphrastic, and super-abundant, constantly introducing words which are not in the original, and are not always warranted by the original. It also misses not infrequently the exact meaning of technical terms. On the whole, nevertheless, it gives a good broad view of all that Linschoten has to say, though it requires checking in details.

The notes of Paladanus, both in and out of the text, are omitted in the present reprint, which also abridges the text in many places,[1] and omits practically the whole of Linschoten's lengthy description of Indian lands, manners, markets, products, peoples, fauna and flora, extending from chapter v. to chapter xcii., from vol. i. p. 43 to vol. ii. p. 158 in the Hakluyt Society's edition of the complete Old English translation (1596-1885; see pp. 1-126 of this volume).[2]

Passing by the next two tracts, both relating to the destruction of Spanish and Portuguese Carracks in 1592-4 by English seamen (see vol. ii. pp. 129-150), we come to the *Miserable Captivity of Richard Hasleton* (pp. 151-180), originally printed in 1595, under the title *Strange and Wonderful Things happened to Rd. Hasleton, born at Braintree in Essex, in his ten years' travels in many foreign countries.* This is illustrated by various cuts, said to be taken from Poliphilo. The scene on p. 157, where Hasleton, urged to take the cross into his hand, spits in the inquisitor's face, is very typical; not less so is the protest on p. 168, 'Can any man which understandeth the absurd blindness and wilful ignorance of the Spanish tyrants, or Romish monsters, think them to be of the true Church? which defend their faith with fire, sword, and hellish torments.' . . . In

[1] *E.g.* pp. 3, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, vol. ii. of the present collection.

[2] Much has been written, and more conjectured, about early Portuguese knowledge of the interior of Africa, the great lakes, the Nile sources, etc. A valuable hint as to this is afforded by a passage in Linschoten, Hak. Soc. edn., i. 31; this is omitted in our present reprint, but properly occurs after the words *mine named Monomotapa* on p. 17 of vol. ii.: 'in the which land is a great lake out of which you may perceive the river Nilus to spring forth, as likewise the great and wide river of Cuama or Niger [Quilimane? *i.e.* Zambesi], which runneth between Sofala and Mozambique into the sea. This, taken in connection with the Pigafetta map of 1591, may well be thought to prove a remarkable though unsifted and often vague knowledge of Upland Africa among the sixteenth century Portuguese.

Hasleton, even better than in Phillips or Hartop, we have the perfect prototype of Salvation Yeo.

Hakluyt's note (pp. 182-5) on the antiquity of English trade in the Levant, which follows, traces this East Mediterranean commerce or 'Turkey Trade,' grown to such importance under Elizabeth, from the early years of Henry VIII. (1511, 1512, etc.); while the voyage of the Earl of Cumberland, in 1589, to the Azores (pp. 186-212) forms an interesting chapter in the English counter-stroke after the ruin of the Spanish Armada of 1588; just as the fight of the *Dolphin* against five Turkish men-of-war, off Cagliari in Sardinia, in 1616, is a typical episode in the constant struggle of Mediterranean trade against Moslem piracy (see vol. ii. pp. 213-220). The Battle of Lepanto had scotched but not killed the snake: Europe was not finally freed from Mohammedan pirates until the French conquest of Algiers in 1830, though during the seventeenth century the nuisance was reduced to small dimensions.

Edward Wright, the annalist of Lord Cumberland's 1589 voyage, was the greatest scientific geographer of Elizabethan England. He was born about 1558, at Garveston in Norfolk, and became a Fellow of Caius, Cambridge, in 1587, soon after which he devoted himself to the study of navigation as a branch of mathematics. His most famous work, *Certain Errors in Navigation*, was published in 1599, and in 1614 he was appointed Lecturer in Navigation to the East India Company. He died in 1615, having won the position of the 'English Mercator' by his emended form of the famous projection of Gerard Kaufmann ('Mercator'), originally published in 1556. The present narrative is extracted from *Certain Errors in Navigation* (cf. also Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, iv. 1142-4, ed. of 1625).

Sir Francis Drake revived (see vol. ii. pp. 221-294) is an account of the so-called 'third' West Indian voyage of the great leader, that of 1572-3 to the Spanish Main. The region of Tierra Firme, or Golden Castille, then formed part, officially, of the Province of Hispaniola (Española), whose capital was at San Domingo. Since the discovery of the Peruvian silver mines in 1545, its ports had acquired immense importance as the points from which most of the treasure was shipped to Europe. We have already met with Drake in connection with the Hawkins voyages; it may be well to add here that he was born at Crowndale, near Tavistock, in Devonshire, in or about 1545; and made his first voyage to the West Indies with Captain Lovell in 1565-6, his second American voyage with Hawkins in the disastrous venture of 1567-8, his third (so far as known) in 1570, his fourth in 1571. The expedition of 1572-3 was in reality, therefore, his fifth to the New World. All the three latter claimed to be (as we are told in *Drake revived*; see vol. ii. p. 228) voyages of revenge, attempts to pay back to Spain the personal injuries received at Rio de la Hacha in his first venture, and at San Juan de Ulua ('Ulloa') in his second. They were also probably intended as diversions in the larger political struggle of England and Elizabeth against the Counter-Reformation, which assumed so acute a form in 1569-70.

As pirates, filibusters, and leviers of private war in the West Indies, Drake and the other English raiders of this time were preceded by French Huguenots, who sacked Havana as far back as 1536, and since that time had made incessant attacks upon the Spanish-American settlements of the Atlantic seaboard, until their success emboldened

them to attempt a permanent colonisation within the Spanish sphere of interest in Florida (1565).[1]

The only account of Drake's raid of 1570 is in a paper of Spanish origin (*A Summary Relation of the Robberies done by Fr. Drake*), which describes it as accomplished by a vessel of only forty tons, captained by Drake ('with whom there went a merchant of Exeter called Rich. Dennys'). The same authority declares 'upon the coast of Nombre de Dios they did rob divers barks in the river Chagres that were transporting merchandise of 40,000 ducats of velvets and taffetas, . . . besides gold and silver in other barks.'

The voyage of 1571 was almost equally 'rich and gainful,' and it was now that Drake discovered his 'Port Pheasant,' probably the 'Puerto Escondido' or 'Hidden Haven' of the Spaniards, about four leagues south-west of the modern 'Caledonian Bay,' in the Gulf of Darien (see vol. ii. p. 229, etc.). The capacities of this as a base for future attacks upon the Spanish Main he saw at once, and in *Drake revived* the extreme importance of the position is apparent throughout. According to Lope de Vega,[2] the English captain (supposed to speak excellent Spanish) had visited Nombre de Dios disguised as a Spaniard; and his accurate knowledge of the topography in 1572 may be taken as some proof of the story of the *Dragontea*. Now also Drake gained a thorough knowledge of the treasure route from Peru to Panama, and across the isthmus to Nombre de Dios, where ships bound for Spain waited for their cargo.

To seize these treasures was clearly lawful for a true

[1] Just as in the same generation they attempted under Coligny's inspiration to plant themselves within the Portuguese sphere in Brazil (1558).

[2] *Dragontea*, canto i. On the other hand, it is disputed whether Drake as yet spoke Spanish at all.

Protestant hater of Spain, whether his country were or were not in a state of formal war with Philip II. Drake had it from the chaplain of his own ship that he might justly recover his losses (of 1566 and 1568) from those who had injured him; in fact, the 'case was clear in sea divinity, and few are such infidels as not to believe doctrines which make for their profit.'[1]

The spring of 1572, in which began the voyage whose story we have in *Drake revived*,[2] saw the start of a number of French and English vessels, half-traders, half-privateers, for Spanish America,—some twenty from Havre, at least two (besides Drake himself) from England. One of these was under James Ranse or Raunce,[3] probably the former master of the *William and John* in Hawkins' last voyage; the other was captained by John Garrett, probably the master of the *Minion* which escaped with such difficulty from the San Juan de Ulua fight in the venture of 1567-8. Raunce joined Drake off the Spanish Main a little later in this same year (see vol. ii. pp. 232-3); Garrett left

[1] Fuller, *Holy State*, p. 124 (ed. of 1648).

[2] Froude (*English Seamen*, pp. 108-9; ed. of 1895) is the only person who has challenged the authenticity of *Sir Francis Drake revived*, without any adequate reasons given or apparently forthcoming. The value of this booklet is of the first order; from it we derive almost all our knowledge of Drake's early feats in the West Indies and Spanish Main. From the dedication to Elizabeth, dated January 1, 1592-3, and written by Sir Francis himself, it would look as if, according to Court custom, he had presented the manuscript to the queen as a New Year's gift (cf. Corbett, *Drake*, i. 422).

Spanish versions of this expedition, strikingly confirmatory of *Drake revived*, may be found in the Record Office Manuscript 'Spanish State Papers,' xviii., of January 1580, called *Memoria de los Cossarios Ingleses que han hecho robas en las Indias*. In this paper the names of various owners of shipping captured or destroyed by Drake are given, along with a fairly minute account of the other English depredations. We may also cf. Hakluyt's extract from the *Discourse of Lopez Vaz, a Portugal*, and Duro, *Armada española*, ii. 506.

[3] Also spelt Rause or Rouse.

a warning for him at Port Pheasant that his hiding-place had been discovered (see vol. ii. p. 230).

All these ventures—Drake's, Raunce's, and Garrett's—appear to have had powerful backing: one authority[1] makes Drake the partner of Wynter and Hawkins. It is clear that behind him was a powerful group of navy men, merchants, and even statesmen, and that his little squadron was admirably fitted out, not for the execution of an irregular and independent freebooting scheme, but rather for one that needed the best equipment that England could give.

The 'Cimaroons,' Drake's native allies, who play so large a part in the narrative, were descendants of escaped negroes and 'Indian' women whom the Spaniards called 'Cimarones' or 'Hill-folk,' and the English sailors 'Maroons,' a name of pleasantly confused idea.

It has well been pointed out[2] that the nature and proportion of the arms served out to the landing party which attacked, took, but failed to hold Nombre de Dios, prove 'the action not of a mere pirate arming his desperadoes to the teeth, but of a man acquainted with the arrangement of a regular infantry *tertia*.' The absence of defensive armour was a concession to the incurable prejudice of English seamen in this matter, so much lamented by Sir Richard Hawkins,[3] so stoutly defended by others.

The great scene in the narrative (vol. ii. p. 269), where Drake gains his first view of the Pacific and prays for 'life

[1] The Ashmole Manuscripts referred to by Corbett, *Drake*, i. 159. On the other hand, Hawkins evidently felt bitterly about Drake's desertion of him after the disaster of 1568 (see note, p. 62).

[2] Cf. Corbett, *Drake*, i. 164-5.

[3] Cf. Rich. Hawkins's *Observations* (Hak. Soc. Ed.), pp. 302-4 (esp. 303-4), 'All men of good understanding, he declares, will condemn such desperate ignorance.'

and leave to sail once in an English ship in that sea,' has been justly seized upon by all who have studied Elizabethan history with any intelligence. It is indeed a decisive moment in the history of the English people as well as in the story of Drake's life: 'from that time forward his mind was pricked on continually night and day to perform his vow.'[1]

The French captain, Têtu of 'Newhaven' or Havre, who joined the English raiders on March 23, 1573 (see vol. ii. pp. 283-4, etc.), was perhaps the pilot Guillaume Le Testu of Françoise de Grâce, who published an atlas in 1555 which he dedicated to Coligny; the scimitar he gave Drake was a present from the Admiral of France, and (as our narrative says on p. 284) formerly belonged to 'Monsieur Strozze,' otherwise the Condottiere Strozzi.'[2]

Lastly, we may notice that the incident of the re-discovery and recovery of the buried treasure by the Spaniards (as mentioned in the narrative, vol. ii. p. 290) is confirmed in the *Dragontea* of Lope de Vega; just as the statement about the prizes taken (vol. ii. pp. 293-4) is borne out in general terms by the Spanish official complaint, which names several of Drake's captures, and adds that he took many other frigates engaged in the coasting trade of Tierra Firme and Veragua, with a great quantity of gold, silver, and merchandise. Among these prizes were a number of frigates newly built, at Havana and elsewhere, by the energy and skill of Pero Menendez de Aviles. For this terrible enemy of the Florida Huguenots was not merely a butcher of 'Lutherans' ('I do this not as to Frenchmen but as to heretics'), he was also the man who gradually equipped the Spanish Indies with some kind of defensive system, and to whom Philip II. owed the wisest

[1] Camden. [2] See Corbett, *Drake*, i. 190; Margry, *Navigations françaises*, 138-9.

advice he ever received from a subject in naval matters. It was with two of these new frigates that Drake and his company came home, and their merit is strikingly shown by the speed of the return voyage, which was accomplished in twenty-three days, from Cape San Antonio in Florida to the Scilly Isles (see vol. ii. pp. 293-4). Of the two vessels with which the 'Dragon' sailed from Plymouth, the *Pasha* was apparently abandoned at the close of the campaign: the scuttling of the original *Swan* is described on pp. 244-6.

Robert Knox's *Captivity in the Highlands of Ceylon* (1660-79), the last item in the present collection, is also the longest and one of the most interesting (see vol. ii. pp. 295-429). In the original edition of 1681 it has the title of *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon in the East Indies, together with an Account of the detaining in captivity* [of] *the author*, etc.; there is a preface by Robert Hooke, M.D., who probably helped Knox to some extent in the polishing of his work. It is the earliest detailed account of Ceylon in English,[1] and by far the most valuable study of the interior which had been made in any European language up to this time. A Dutch translation appeared in 1692, a French one in 1693, a German in 1747. Robert Knox was born in 1640 or 1641, and lived till 1720. His father, a Scotsman of strong Puritan principles, had the same name as himself, and was, as we see from the narrative, a commander in the East India Company's service. He was made prisoner with his son and died on Feb. 9, 1660, leaving his unfortunate boy to grow to middle age in captivity. The latter, miserable as he usually was, employed his time admirably in observing and recording native customs, natural features, and recent Cinghalese

[1] Cf. vol. i. of Harris' *Navigantium Bibliotheca*, pp. 678, 811, 844, 938.

tradition. After his escape he seems to have developed a morose temper and decided roughness of manner: his hatred of women was vehemently expressed in his letters: in Ceylon he rejects all offers of alliance with native females simply from the fear of thus increasing the difficulty of his escape.

Knox's captivity occurred during the long reign of Raja Singha II. (1635-85), the one hundred and seventy-second king since Vijaya, in B.C. 543, came from Palibothra on the Ganges to the sacred isle of *Lanka*.

'Ceylon was well known to the ancients under the name of Taprobane,' so every manual will tell us; but unquestionably under that name there is often a confusion between our Sumatra and Ceylon itself: both in Ptolemy (as 'Taprobane'), and in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (as 'Palaesimundus'), it appears as an island of gigantic size. Onesicritus and Megasthenes, Strabo and Pliny, all have something to say of Taprobane; under Claudius, Julian, Theodosius II., and Justinian, intercourse with the Roman Empire is recorded; and the names of Annius Plocamus in the first century, of Scholasticus in the fifth, of Sopater and Cosmas Indicopleustes in the sixth, have been preserved as those of visitors from the Mediterranean world to *Sielediva*. In the same way Fa Hien (*c.* A.D. 410) and Khi-nie (*c.* 970) made their way thither from the opposite end of the 'Habitable World'—from that 'Land of Han,' 'Celestial,' or 'Middle' Kingdom which had so close a bond with all centres of Buddhist faith, literature, and relic-treasure.

[1] In Ptolemy (*c.* A.D. 130) it is drawn as larger than Spain, and occupying most of the space that should have been given to the Indian Peninsula; in the *Periplus*, *c.* A.D. 90, it is described as of immense length, roughly like the shape of our Sumatra, but far greater, and bearing no perceptible resemblance to Ceylon.

Hiouen-Thsang (A.D. 628-649), however, the greatest of Chinese travellers, though he evidently longed to see the matchless jewels of Ceylon, did not touch there himself.

In the first half of the fifteenth century (1405-59), the island appears to have paid tribute to China, renewing then in more tangible form a shadowy allegiance of the earlier Middle Ages.

Among the Christian travellers[1] of the Mediæval Period who reached Southern and Eastern Asia, many refer to Ceylon, but few visited it, before the discovery of the ocean route round the Cape. Marco Polo and Bishop John de Marignolli are exceptions (*c.* A.D. 1293-4, and 1347-9). Even Nicolo Conti, though perhaps the first European to describe the cinnamon of *Seyllan*, does not seem to have landed (*c.* 1440).

On the other hand, the Arabs were constant visitors. Fa Hien found them there, two centuries before Mohammed. *Serendib* is one of the best-known points in the ninth and tenth century geography of Suleyman the merchant, Abu Zeyd Hassan, and Sindbad the Sailor; one of the clearest accounts of Ceylon before the advent of the Portuguese is that of the 'Doctor of Tangier,' Ibn Batuta (*c.* 1336 A.D.).

After Diego Cão, Bartholomew Diaz, Covilhão, and Vasco da Gama had opened the African or S.E. route to the Indies, an Italian trader, Girolamo di S. Stefano of Genoa, stayed a very short time in the island in 1498 or 1499. In 1506, the great traveller Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna, journeying by 'Arab' routes, touched at a port on the

[1] Friar Odoric of Pordenone, Bishop Jordanus of Columbum (Quilon), and John of Hesse are among the 'Latins' who wrote most fully of Seyllan or Sillan, but did not make a personal inspection.

west coast: as usual, he contrives to give more information in ten lines than most men in ten chapters.

The Portuguese knew Ceylon, as a coveted possession, from 1505, when under their boy-leader Lawrence or Lourenço, the hero son of the first Viceroy, Francisco de Almeyda, they attempted to gain a footing in the island, at Point de Galle. Affonso de Albuquerque (1509-15), as second Governor-General, seems to have meant to establish a fortress on some point of the coast; but the actual Portuguese dominion only began in 1517, when Lopo Soares de Albergaria appeared before Colombo and obtained permission to build a 'castle' there. The natives soon repented of their concession, and attacked the new settlement in force. Being vigorously repulsed, they acknowledged themselves, according to the conquerors' version, tributaries and vassals of the King of Portugal (see Camoens, *Lusiads*, x. 51). It is clear, however, that the people of the hilly upland struggled pretty successfully against the permanent extension of the Portuguese dominion. In 1542, and again in 1581, the dying rulers of 'Condé,' or Kandy, bequeathed their dominions to the Europeans, and in 1547-50 the Portuguese almost established themselves in the central fastnesses. In 1593-5 they did actually gain momentary possession of Kandy; and in 1560 they carried off and burnt the original tooth-relic of Buddha; but all these successes were transient. The Cinghalese refused to be willed away to foreign masters, and succeeded in repulsing each advance of their enemy, beyond the coastal lowlands. At the end of the sixteenth century, Linschoten (though perhaps with exaggeration) describes Colombo as the only real possession of the subjects of Philip II. in the island, 'which by mere force and great charges is main-

tained, for that they have no other place or piece of ground, no not one foot but that in all the land.' (See Linschoten, *Itinerario*, book i. chaps. xiii., xiv., xcii.). In 1587-8, Raja Singha I. fiercely but unsuccessfully attacked this 'small, strong, well-guarded' fort; and in 1595 the extreme barbarities of the would-be conqueror, Jerome de Azavedo, failed to crush the resistance of a people whom he drove to despair. Though he occupied Kandy, he could not make his raid produce any lasting results.

The Dutch paid their first visit to Ceylon in 1602; and between 1638 and 1658 they wholly expelled the Portuguese, substituting themselves as masters at Trincomali in 1639, at Point de Galle in 1640, at Colombo in 1656. Their timid and irresolute policy towards the native powers (as well as the studied cruelty of the Portuguese) is well brought out in Knox's narrative (see esp. ii. pp. 409-420). Here also is a very early notice of that vigorous onward movement of the French, which, in 1672, brought them from Madagascar, Bourbon, and the Isle de France to Ceylon and the Coromandel Coast, and which in spite of all discouragements continued apparently to prosper and progress till Dupleix made France for a moment (1742-50) the dominant power in the Deccan (see vol. ii. pp. 421-25).

The Cinghalese practice of detaining white visitors was not at all peculiar. Instances of it are common enough among semi-civilised nations: the most famous example, perhaps, is that of Abyssinia, where, to give only one instance among many, the first Portuguese envoy to the court of Prester John, Pero de Covilhão, was kept as a hostage to the day of his death (from 1490 to 1520).

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY.

Oct. 24th, 1902.

JAN HUYGHEN VAN LINSCHOTEN.

Voyage, in a Portuguese carrack, to Goa, in 1583 *A.D.*

[*Discourse of Voyages &c.*, 1598.]

This celebrated Narrative of a journey to India and back (besides being an Eye Witness description of the economy of a Carrack) contains precise information respecting Portuguese affairs in India, at a time when the already enormous wealth of the Crown of Spain was being rendered almost omnipotent by the vast additional treasures brought to Lisbon in the yearly Fleet of Portuguese carracks : and also, at its close, gives us a large account of the splendid doings of the English fleets off the Azores, in 1589; including the last fight of the *Revenge*, and the dying speech of its Commander, Vice Admiral Sir RICHARD GRENVILLE.

EING young and living idly in my native country, sometimes applying myself to the reading of histories and strange adventures, wherein I took no small delight; I found my mind so much addicted to see and travel into strange countries thereby to seek some adventure, that in the end to satisfy myself, I determined and was fully resolved, for a time, to leave my native country and my friends (although it grieved me); yet the hope I had to accomplish my desire together with the resolution taken, in the end, overcame my affection, and put me in good comfort to take the matter upon me; trusting in GOD, that He would further my intent.

Which done, being resolved, thereupon I took leave of my parents, who then dwelt at Enkhuisen; and being ready to embark myself, I went to a fleet of ships that as then lay before the Texel, staying for the wind to sail for Spain and Portugal: where I embarked myself in a ship that was bound for San Lucar de Barameda, being determined to travel unto Seville, where as then I had two brethren that had continued there certain years before; so to help myself the better, and by their means to know the manner and custom of those countries, as also to learn the Spanish tongue.

And the 6th of December in the year of our Lord 1576, we put out of the Texel, being in all about eighty ships; and set our course for Spain: and the 9th of the same month we passed between Dover and Calais.

Within three days after, we had sight of Cape Finisterre, and the 15th of the same month, we saw the land of Cintra otherwise called Cape Roca; from whence the river Tagus runneth into the main sea, upon the which river lieth the famous city of Lisbon: where some of our fleet put in, and left us.

The 17th day, we saw Cape St. Vincent; and upon Christmas day after, we entered into the river of San Lucar de Barameda; where I stayed two or three days, and then travelled to Seville. On the first day of January

[1577] following, I entered into the city, where I found one of my brethren; but the other was newly ridden to Court, lying, as then, at Madrid.

Although I had a special desire presently [*at once*] to travel farther; yet for want of the Spanish tongue, without the which men can hardly pass through the country, I was constrained to stay there to learn some part of their language.

In the meantime, it chanced that Don HENRY, the last King of Portugal died: by which means a great contention and debate happened as then in Portugal; by reason that the said King by his will and testament, made PHILIP [II.] King of Spain, his sister's son, lawful heir unto the Crown of Portugal. Notwithstanding the Portuguese — always deadly enemies to the Spaniards—were wholly against it, and elected for their King, Don ANTONIO, Prior of Ocrato, brother's son to the King that died before Don HENRY: which the King of Spain hearing, presently prepared himself in person to go into Portugal to receive the crown; sending before him the Duke of ALVA with a troop of men to cease their strife, and pacify the matter. So that, in the end, partly by force and partly by money, he brought the country under his subjection.

Whereupon divers men went out of Seville and other places into Portugal; as it is commonly seen that men are often addicted to changes and new alterations: among the which my brother, by other men's counsels, was one. First travelling to the borders of Spain, to a city called Badajos, standing on the frontiers of Portugal; where they hoped to find some better means: and they were no sooner arrived there, but that they heard news that all was quiet in Portugal, and the Don ANTONIO was driven out of the country; and PHILIP, by the consent of the land, received for King.

Whereupon my brother presently changed his mind of travelling to Portugal, and entered into service with an Ambassador that on the King's behalf was to go into Italy; with whom he rode: and arriving in Salamanca, he fell sick of a disease called *tabardilla* [*the spotted fever*], which at that time reigned [*raged*] throughout the whole country of Spain, whereof many thousands died; and amongst the rest, my brother was one.

Not long before, the plague was so great in Portugal, that, in two years space, there died in Lisbon to the number of 80,000 people. After which plague; the aforesaid disease ensued, which wrought great destruction throughout the whole country of Spain.

The 5th day of August in the same year, having some understanding in the Spanish tongue, I placed myself with a Dutch gentleman who had determined to travel into Portugal to see the country, and stayed with him, to take a more convenient time for my pretended [*intended*] voyage.

Upon the 1st of September following, we departed from Seville: and passing through divers towns and villages, within eight days after, we arrived at Badajos, where I found my other brother following the Court.

At the same time, died ANNE of Austria, Queen of Spain—sister to the Emperor RODOLPH [II.] and daughter to the Emperor MAXIMILIAN [II.]—the King's fourth and last wife; for whom great sorrow was made through all Spain. Her body was conveyed from Badajos to the Cloister of Saint Laurence in the Escorial; where, with great solemnity, it was buried.

We having stayed certain days in Badajos, departed from thence; and passed through a town called Elvas, about two or three miles off, being the first town in the kingdom of Portugal; for that between it and Badajos the borders of Spain and Portugal are limited.

From thence, we travelled into divers other places of Portugal, and at the last arrived at Lisbon, about the 20th of September following; where, at that time, we found the Duke of ALVA, as Governor there for the King of Spain: the whole city making great preparation for the coronation of the King, according to the custom of their country.

We being in Lisbon, through the change of air and the corruption of the country, I fell sick: and during my sickness was seven times let blood [*bled*]; yet, by GOD's help, I escaped.

Being recovered, not having much preferment under the gentleman, I left his service; and placed myself with a merchant, until I might attain to better means.

About the same time, the plague, not long before newly begun, began again to cease; for the which cause the King till then had deferred his entrance into Lisbon: which being wholly ceased; upon the first day of May, *anno* 1581, he entered with great triumph and magnificence into the city. Where, above all others, the Dutchmen had the best and greatest commendation for the beautiful shows: which were a gate and a bridge that stood upon the river side where the King must first pass as he went out of his galley to enter into the city; being beautified and adorned with many costly and excellent things most pleasant to behold. Every street and place within the city was hung with rich cloths of tapestry and arras: where they made great triumphs, as the manner is at all Princes' coronations.

The same year, the 12th of December, the Duke of ALVA died in Lisbon, in the King's palace; being High Steward of Spain: who, during his sickness, for fourteen days, received no sustenance but only women's milk. His body, being seared and spicen [*embalmed*], was conveyed into his country of Alva.

The same month, the King being yet at Lisbon, died Don DIEGO, Prince of SPAIN and PORTUGAL, the King's eldest son. His body being embalmed, was conveyed to Madrid. After whose death, the King had but one son named Don PHILIP, and two daughters living.

About the same time, there arrived at Lisbon, the King's sister, widow to the deceased Emperor MAXIMILIAN; and with her, one of her daughters, who being lame, was placed in a Monastery of Nuns. They with great triumph were likewise received into the city.

After the death of Don DIEGO, the King's eldest son, all the Lords and Estates of Spain and Portugal, as well spiritual as temporal, assembled at Lisbon, and there, in the King's presence, according to the ancient custom and manner of the country, took their oaths of faith [*fealty*] and allegiance unto Don PHILIP, the young Prince of SPAIN, and next heir and lawful successor of the King his father, in his dominions of Spain, Portugal, and other lands and countries.

The next year, *anno* 1582, a great navy of ships was prepared in Lisbon, whose General [*Admiral*] was the Marquis of SANTA CRUZ. He was accompanied with the

principal gentlemen and captains, both of Spain and Portugal; who, at their own costs and charges therein, to show the great affection and desire they had to serve their Prince, sailed with the said Navy to the Flemish Isles [*the Azores*] to fight with Don ANTONIO; who lay about those isles with a fleet of Frenchmen, whose General [*Admiral*] was one PHILLIPO STROZZI.

These two fleets meeting together, fought most cruelly, to the great loss of both parts: yet in the end, Don ANTONIO with his Frenchmen were overthrown, and many of them taken prisoners. Among the which were divers gentlemen of great account in France: who, by the Marquis's commandment, were all beheaded on the island of St. Michael. The rest, being brought into Spain, were put into the galleys. Don ANTONIO escaped in a small ship; and the General STROZZI also, who being hurt in the battle, died of the same wound.

By this victory, the Spaniards were so proud, that great triumph was holden in Lisbon for the same; and the Marquis of SANTA CRUZ received therein with great joy.

Which done, and all things being pacified in Portugal, the King left his sister's son, Don ALBERTUS Cardinal of Austria, Governor of Lisbon and the whole country; and, with the Cardinal's mother, returned and kept Court at Madrid in Spain.

The beginning of my voyage into the East or Portuguese Indies.

TAYING at Lisbon, the trade of merchandise there not being great, by reason of the new and fresh disagreeing of the Spaniards and Portuguese; occasion was offered to accomplish my desire.

There was, at that time, in Lisbon, a monk of Saint Dominic's order, named Don Frey VINCENTE DE FONSECA, of a noble house: who, by reason of his great learning, had of long time been Chaplain unto SEBASTIAN, King of Portugal, and being with him in the battle in Barbary where King SEBASTIAN was slain, was taken prisoner, and

from thence ransomed. Whose learning and good behaviour being known to the King of Spain, he made great account of him; placing him in his own chapel: and desiring to prefer him, the Archbishopric of all the Indies being void, with the confirmation of the Pope, he invested him therewith; although he refused to accept it, fearing the long and tedious travel he had to make thither. But in the end, through the King's persuasion, he took it upon him; with a promise, within four, or five years at the furthest, to recall him home again, and to give him a better place in Portugal: with the which promise he took the voyage upon him.

I, thinking upon my affairs, used all the means I could to get into his service, and with him to travel the voyage which I so much desired: which fell out as I would wish.

For my brother that followed the Court, had desired his master, who was one of His Majesty's Secretaries, to make him Purser in one of the ships that, the same year, should sail unto the East Indies: which pleased me well; forasmuch that his master was a great friend and acquaintance of the Archbishop's. By which means, with small intreaty, I was entertained in the Bishop's service; and, amongst the rest, my name was written down: we being in all forty persons.

And because my brother had his choice which ship he would be in, he chose the ship wherein the Archbishop sailed, the better for us to help each other: and, in this manner, we prepared ourselves to make our voyage.

There were in all five ships, of the burden of 1,400 or 1,500 tons each ship. Their names were, the admiral [*i.e.*, *the flag ship*] *San Felipe*, the vice-admiral *San Jago*: these were two new ships, one bearing the name of the King, the other of his son. The other three were named the *San Lorenzo*, *San Francisco*, and our ship the *San Salvador*.

Upon the 8th of April, being Good Friday, in the year of our Lord 1583 (which commonly is the time when their ships set sail, within four or five days under or over), we, all together, issued out of the river of Lisbon and put to sea, setting our course for the island of Madeira: and so putting our trust in GOD (without whose favour and help we can do nothing, and all our actions are but vain) we sailed forwards.

The manner and order used in the ships in their Indian voyages.

THE ships are commonly charged with 400 or 500 men at the least; sometimes more, sometimes less, as there are soldiers and sailors to be found.

When they go out, they are but lightly laden with only certain pipes of wine and oil, and some small quantity of merchandise. Other things have they not, but ballast and victuals for the company. For the most and greatest ware that is commonly sent into India are Rials of Eight [=436 *reis* =5*s.* 9*d.* *then*=£1 14*s.* 6*d.* *now.* *The present Mexican dollar*]: because the principal Factors for Pepper do every year send a great quantity of money therewith to buy pepper; as also divers particular merchants, it being the least ware [*smallest in bulk*] that men can carry into India. So that in these Rials of Eight, they gain at least forty per cent.

When the ships are out of the river, and entered into the sea, all their men are mustered, as well sailors as soldiers; and such as are found absent and left on land, being registered in the books, are marked by the Purser, that at their return they may talk with their sureties (for that every man putteth in sureties): and the goods of such as are absent, being found in the ship, are presently brought forth and priced [*appraised*] and an inventory thereof being made, they are left to be disposed of at the Captain's pleasure. The like is done with the goods of those that die in the ship. But little cometh to the owner's hands, being embezzled and privily made away.

The Master and Pilot have for their whole voyage forth and home again, each man 120 Milreis[1] [=£80 *then*=£480

[1] The present Portuguese Milreis is a silver coin about 4*s.* 4½*d.* in value; and is roughly calculated at 4½ Milreis to the £1 sterling. But the Milreis referred to by LINSCHOTEN was a gold coin, and as such is quoted by JOHN MELLIS (at *p.* 155 of his edition of ROBERT RECORD's *Ground of Artes*, in 1586) among "the most usual gold coins throughout Christendom," as being worth 13*s.* 4*d.*

The Portuguese Ducat was Two-fifths of the Milreis, and would be, proportionately, 5*s.* 4*d.*; but LINSCHOTEN, at *p.* 459 of the original English edition of 1598, quotes it at 5*s.* 6*d.* We shall, however, for uniformity sake, herein take it (on MELLIS's equivalent of 13*s.* 4*d.* for Milreis) at 5*s.* 4*d.*: and in estimating for corresponding value in the present day, shall multiply by Six.

now] every Milreis [=13*s.* 4*d.*] being worth in Dutch money seven Guilders. And because the reckoning of Portuguese money is only in one sort of money called *Reis*—whereof 160 [=*roughly* 2*s. then*] are as much as a Keyser's Guilder or four [*Spanish*] Rials of Silver [*each*=*roughly* 40 *Reis*=6*d. then*]; so that two Reis are four Pence, and One Rei, is two Pence of Holland. I have thought it good to set it down the better to show and make you understand the accounts they use by Reis in the country of Portugal.

But returning to our matter, I say Master and the Pilot do receive beforehand each man 24,000 Reis [=24 *Milreis*=£16 *then*=£96 *now*]. Besides that, they have both chambers under in the ship and cabins above the hatches; as also "primage," and certain tons of freight. The like have all the other officers in the ship, according to their degrees; and although they receive money in hand, yet it costeth them more in gifts before they get their places; which are given by favour and goodwill of the *Proveador*, who is the Chief Officer of the Admiralty.

Yet there is no certain ordinance for their pay, for that it is daily altered: but let us reckon the pay which is commonly given, according to the ordinance and manner of our ship for that year.

The Chief Boatswain hath for his whole pay 50,000 Reis [=50 *Milreis*=£33 13*s.* 4*d. then*=£200 *now*], and receiveth 10,000 Reis [=10 *Milreis*=£6 13*s.* 4*d. then*=£40 *now*] in ready money.

The Guardian, that is the Quarter Master, hath 1,400 Reis [=18*s.* 8*d. then*=£5 12*s. now*] the month; and for freight, 2,800 [=£1 17*s.* 4*d. then*=£11 4*s. now*]; and receiveth 7,000 Reis [=7 *Milreis*=£4 13*s.* 4*d. then*=£28 *now*] in ready money.

The *Seto Piloto*, which is the Master's Mate, hath 1,200 Reis [=16*s. then*=£4 16*s. now*], which are three ducats [5*s.* 4*d. each*], the month; and as much freight as the Quarter Master.

Two Carpenters and two *Callafaren* [?] which help them, have, each man, four ducats [=£1 4*s. then*=£7 4*s. now*] a month and 3,900 Reis [=£2 12*s. then*=£15 12*s. now*] freight.

The Steward, that giveth out their meat and drink, and the *Merinho* [? *Master at Arms*] which is he that imprisoneth men

aboard, and hath charge of all the ammunition and powder, with the delivering forth of the same, have each man a 1,100 Reis [=14*s.* 8*d.* *then*=£4 8*s.* *now*] a month and 2,340 Reis [=£1 11*s.* 2*d.* *then*=£9 7*s.* *now*] of freight; besides their chambers, and freedom from customs: as also all other officers, sailors, pikemen, shot [*harquebusiers*] etc. have, every man after the rate, and every one that serveth in the ship.

The Cooper hath three ducats [=16*s.* 0*d.* *then*=£4 16*s.* *now*] a month, and 3,900 Reis [=£2 12*s.* *then*=£15 12*s.* *now*] of freight.

Two *Strinceros* [?], those are they which hoist up the mainyard by a wheel, and let it down again with a wheel, as need is, have each 1,000 Reis [=13*s.* 4*d.* *then*=£4 *now*] the month, and 2,800 Reis [=£1 17*s.* 4*d.* *then*=£11 4*s.* *now*] of freight.

Thirty-three Sailors have each man 1,000 Reis [=13*s.* 4*d.* *then*=£4 *now*] the month, and 2,800 Reis [=£1 17*s.* 4*d.* *then*=£11 4*s.* *now*] freight.

Thirty-seven Rowers have each man 660 Reis [=8*s.* 9*d.* *then*=£2 12*s.* 6*d.* *now*] the month, and 1,860 Reis [=£1 4*s.* 9*d.* *then*=£7 8*s.* 6*d.* *now*] freight.

Four *Pagiens* [*Cabin boys*], which are boys, have with their freight, 443 Reis [=5*s.* 11*d.* *then*=£1 15*s.* 6*d.* *now*] the month.

One Master Gunner and eight under him, have each man a different pay: some more, some less.

The Surgeon likewise hath no certain pay.

The Factor and the Purser have no pay but only their chambers, that is below under the hatches a chamber of twenty pipes (for each man ten pipes) whereof they make great profit; and above the hatches each man his cabin to sleep in.

These are all the officers and other persons which sail in the ship, which have for their portion every day in victuals, each man alike, as well the greatest as the least, 1¾ lbs. of biscuit, half a can of wine, a can of water; and an *arroba*, which is 32 [English] pounds of salt flesh the month, and some dried fish. Onions and garlic are eaten in the beginning of the voyage, as being of small value. Other provisions as sugar, honey, raisins, prunes, rice and such like, are kept for those which are sick: yet they have but little thereof; for the officers keep it for themselves and spend it at their

pleasure, not letting much go out of their fingers. As for the dressing of their meat, wood, pots, and pans; every man must make his own provision.

Besides all this, there is a Clerk and Steward for the King's soldiers that have their parts by themselves, as the sailors have.

This is the order and manner of their voyage when they sail into the Indies: but when they return again, they have no more but each man a portion of biscuit and water until they come to the Cape of Good Hope; and from thence home, they must find their own provisions.

The soldiers that are passengers, have nothing else but a free passage; that is room for a chest under the hatches, and a place for their bed in the orlop deck: and may not come away without the Viceroy's passport, and yet they must have been five years soldiers in the Indies before they can have licence. But the slaves must pay freight for their bodies and customs to the King; as in our voyage home again we will at large declare [*see pp.* 53-67].

Madeira to Mozambique.

THE 15th of April 1583, we espied the island of Madeira and Porto Santo; where the ships use [*are accustomed*] to separate themselves, each ship keeping on his course; that they may get before each other into India for their most advantage, and to dispatch the sooner: whereby, in the night and by tides, they leave each other's company; each following his own way.

The 24th of April, we fell upon the coast of Guinea, which beginneth at 9° N., and stretcheth until we come under the Equinoctial: where we have much thunder, lightning, and many showers of rain; with storms of wind which pass swiftly over and yet fall with such force, that at every shower we are forced to strike sail, and let the mainyard fall to the middle of the mast, and many times clean down, sometimes ten or twelve times every day. There we find a most extreme heat, so that all the water in the ship stinketh, whereby men are forced to stop their noses when they drink; but when we are past the Equinoctial it is good again.

The nearer we are unto the land, the more it stormeth, raineth, thundereth, and calmeth: so that most commonly the ships are at the least two months before they can pass the line. Then they find a wind which they name the "General Wind," and it is a south-east wind: but it is a side wind, and we must always be sideways in the wind almost until we come to the Cape of Good Hope.

And because that upon the coast of Brazil, about 18° S., lieth great flakes or shallows which the Portuguese call *abrashos*, that reach seventy miles into the sea on the right side; to pass them the ships hold up most unto the Coast of Guinea, and so pass the said flats.

Otherwise, if they fall too low or keep inwards, they are constrained to turn again into Portugal, and are many times in danger of being lost. As it happened to our admiral [*flagship*] *San Felipe:* which, in the year 1582, fell by night upon the flats, and was in great danger of being lost; yet recovered again, and sailed back to Portugal. And now, this year, to shun the flats, she kept so near the Coast of Guinea that by means of the great calms and rains, she was forced to drive up and down two months together, before she could pass the line; and came two months after the other ships into India. Therefore men must take heed and keep themselves from coming too near the coast to shun the calms and storms; and also not to hold too far off, thereby to pass the flats and shallows: wherein consisteth the whole Indian voyage.

The 15th of May, being about fifty miles northward of the Equinoctial line, we espied a French ship; which put us all in great fear, by reason that most of our men were sick, as it commonly happeneth in those countries through the exceeding heat; and further they are for the most part such as never have been at sea before that time, so that they are not yet able to do much. Yet we discharged certain great shot at him, wherewith (after he had played with us for a small time) he left us: so that presently we lost sight of him, wherewith our men were in better comfort.

The same day, about evening, we descried a great ship, which we judged to be of our fleet, as we afterwards perceived: for it made towards us to speak with us, and it was the *San Francisco*, wherewith we were glad.

The 26th of May, we passed the Equinoctial line, which runneth through the middle of the island of St. Thomas, by the coast of Guinea: and then we began to see the South Star and to loose the North Star, and found the sun at twelve of the clock at noon to be in the north. After that we had a south-east wind called a "General Wind," which in those parts bloweth all the year through.

The 29th of May, being Whitsunday, the ships of an ancient custom, do use to choose an Emperor among themselves, and to change all the Officers in the ship, and to hold a great feast which continueth three or four days together. Which we observing, chose an Emperor; and being at our banquet by means of certain words that passed out of some of their mouths, there fell great strife and contention among us: which proceeded so far that the tables were thrown down and lay on the ground [*decks*] and at the least a hundred rapiers were drawn—without respecting the Captain or any other; for he lay under foot and they trod upon him:—and had killed each other, and thereby had cast the ship away; if the Archbishop had not come out of his chamber among them, willing them to cease, wherewith they stayed their hands. Who presently commanded every man on pain of death, that all their rapiers, poniards, and other weapons should be brought into his chamber; which was done: whereby all things were pacified, the first and principal beginners being punished and laid in irons. By which means they were quiet.

The 12th of June, we passed beyond the aforesaid flats and shallows of Brazil, whereof all our men were exceeding glad: for thereby we were assured that we should not, for that time, put back to Portugal again: as many do. Then the "General Wind" served us until we came to the Rio de la Plata: where we got before the wind to the Cape of Good Hope.

The 20th of the same month, the *San Francisco* that so long had kept us company, was again out of sight.

The 11th of July after, our Master judged us to be about fifty miles from the Cape of Good Hope: wherefore he was desired by the Archbishop to keep in with the land that we might see the Cape. It was then misty weather, so that as we had made with the land one hour or more, we perceived land right before us and were within two miles thereof, which by reason of the dark and misty weather we could no sooner

perceive: which put us in great fear, for our judgement was clean contrary; but the weather beginning to clear up, we knew the land. For it was a part or bank of the point called False Cape, which is about fifteen miles on the side of the Cape of Good Hope towards Mozambique.

The Cape of Good Hope lieth under 34° S. There we had a calm and fair weather, which continuing about half a day, we got with our lines great store of fish off the same land, in ten or twelve fathoms of water. It is an excellent fish, much like to haddocks. The Portuguese call them *pescados* [*i.e.*, *fishes*].

The 20th of the same month, we met again with the *San Francisco*, and spake with her; and so kept company together till the 24th of July, when we lost her again. The same day we struck all our sails because we had a contrary wind, and lay to for two days still driving up and down; not to lose any way. We were then against the high land of Natal; which beginneth in 32° and endeth in 30° S.

In this place they commonly use to take counsel of all the Officers of the ship, whether it is best for them to sail within or without the Island of Saint Lawrence [*Madagascar*]. For that within that land, they sail to Mozambique, and from thence to Goa; and sailing without it, they cannot come at Goa, by reason they fall down [*drift*] by means of the stream [*current*], and so must sail unto Cochin, which lieth 100 miles lower than [*south of*] Goa. It is as the ships leave the Cape, that it is or is not good to make towards Mozambique: because they cannot come in time to Goa by reason of the great calms that are within the island [*i.e.*, *of Madagascar*]. They that pass the Cape in the month of July may well go to Mozambique, because they have time enough to refresh themselves there, and to take in fresh water and other victuals; and so lie at anchor ten or twelve days together: but such as pass the Cape in the month of August, do come too late and must sail about towards Cochin, thereby to lose no time; yet it is dangerous and much more cumbersome, for that commonly they are sick of swollen legs, sore bellies, and other diseases.

The 30th of July, we were against the point of the cape called Cape Corrientes, which lieth under 24° S. There they begin to pass between the islands.

The 1st of August, we passed the flats called *Ox baixos dos India* that is "the flats of India" [now called *Bassa da India*], which are distant from Cape Corrientes, thirty miles; and lie between the island of Saint Lawrence and the firm land. There is great care to be taken lest men fall upon them; for they are very dangerous. Many ships have been lost there, and of late, *anno* 1585, a ship coming from Portugal, called the *San Jago* (being admiral [*flag-ship*] of the fleet; and was the same that, in its first voyage, went with us from Lisbon for vice admiral): as in another place we shall declare [*see p.* 30].

The 4th of August, we descried the land of Mozambique. The next day, we entered into the road, and as we entered, we espied the aforesaid ship, called the *San Jago*, which entered with us, not above one hour after we had descried it; being the first time we had seen it since it left us at the island of Madeira, where we separated ourselves.

There we likewise found two more of our ships, the *San Lorenzo* and the *San Francisco*, which, the day before, were come thither, with a small ship that was to sail to Malacca. Which ship commonly setteth out of Portugal a month before any of the ships do sail for India, only because they have a longer voyage to make: yet do they ordinarily sail to Mozambique to take in sweet water or fresh victuals, as their voyage falleth out or their victuals scanteth. If they go not thither, then they sail about the back [*i.e., the east*] side of the island of Saint Lawrence; not setting their course for the Mozambique.

There were now four of our fleet in company together, and only wanted the *San Felipe* which had held her course so near the coast of Guinea, the better to shun the flats of Brazil, that she was so much becalmed that she could not pass the Equinoctial line for a long time after us; neither yet the Cape of Good Hope without great storms and foul weather, as it ordinarily happeneth to those that come late thither: whereby she was compelled to compass about [*go outside Madagascar*] and came to Cochin about two months after we were all arrived at Goa; having passed through much foul weather and endured much misery, with sickness and diseases as swellings of the legs, the scorbutic, and pain in their bellies, etc

Mozambique.

MOZAMBIQUE is a little island distant about half a mile from the firm land: for the firm land on the north stretcheth further into the sea than it doth. The ships harbour so near to the island and the fortress of Mozambique, that they may throw a stone out of their ships upon the land. They lie between the island and the firm land, which are distant about half a mile from each other; so that they lie there as safely as in a river or haven. The island is about half a mile in compass, and is flat land bordered about with a white sand. Therein grow many Indian palms or [cocoa]nut trees, and some orange, apple, lemon, citron, and Indian fig trees: but other kinds of fruit which are common in India, are very scarce there. Corn with other grain, with rice and such necessary merchandise are brought thither out of India: but of beasts and fowls, as oxen, sheep, goats, swine, hens, etc., there is great abundance; and they are very good and cheap.

In the same island are found sheep of five quarters, for that their tails are so broad and thick, that there is as much flesh upon them as upon a quarter of their body; and they are so fat that men can hardly brook them. There are certain hens that are so black, both of feathers, flesh, and bones, that being sodden they seem as black as ink; yet of a very sweet taste, and are accounted better than the others: whereof some are likewise found in India, but not so many as in Mozambique.

Pork is there a very costly dish, and excellent fair and sweet flesh: and as by experience it is found that it far surpasseth all other flesh, so the sick are forbidden to eat any kind of flesh but only pork, because of the excellency thereof.

They have no sweet water in the island to drink, but they fetch it from the firm land: and they use in their houses great pots which come out of India to keep water in.

The Portuguese have therein a very fair and strong castle, which now about ten or twelve years past [*i.e.*, *about* 1570] was fully finished: and it standeth right against the first of two uninhabited little islands, where the ships must come in, and is one of the best and strongest built of all the

castles throughout the whole Indies: yet have they but small store of ordnance and ammunition. There are also no more soldiers than the Captain and his men that dwell therein: but when occasion serveth, the married Portuguese that dwell in the island, which are about forty or fifty at the most, are all bound to help to keep the Castle, for that the island hath no other defence than only that castle. The rest lieth open, and is a flat sand. Round about within the castle are certain cisterns made, which are always full of water: so that they have water continually in the same for the space of one whole year or more, as necessity requireth.

The government of the Portuguese in the island is in this manner.

They have every three years, a new Captain and a Factor for the King, with other Officers: which are all offices given and bestowed by the King of Portugal upon such as have served him in the Indian wars, in recompence of their services, every man according to his calling and degree: where they receive their pay and ordinary fees out of that which they get by force, for during their abode in those places, they do what pleaseth them.

The Captain hath great profit, for there is another fortress, named Sofala, towards the Cape of Good Hope. By that fort is a certain mine named Monomotapa where is great store of gold: and withal a certain kind of gold called by the Portuguese *botongoen onroempo* or "sandy gold;" for that it is very small, like sand, but the finest gold that can be found.

In this fortress of Sofala, the Captain of Mozambique hath a Factor; and twice or thrice every year, he sendeth certain boats, called *pangaios*, which sail along the shore to fetch gold and bring it to Mozambique. These *pangaios* are made of light planks and sewed together with cords, without any nails.

The Captain maketh the commodity of his place within the three years' space that he remaineth there: which amounteth to the value of 300,000 ducats [= £80,000 *then, or, about* £480,000 *now*], that is, nine tons of gold; as, while we were there, the Captain, named NUNO VELIO PEREIRA, himself showed us; and it is mostly in gold that cometh from Sofala and Monomotapa.

From Mozambique, they carry into India, gold, ambergris, ebony wood, ivory, and many slaves, both men and women, who are carried thither because they are the strongest Moors in all the East countries, to do their filthiest and hardest labour, wherein they only use them. They sail from thence into India but once every year, in the month of August till the half of September; because throughout the whole countries of India, they must sail with the monsoons.

Once every year, there goeth and cometh one ship for the Captain to India, that carrieth and bringeth his merchandise. No man may traffic from thence into India, but only those that dwell and are married in Mozambique. Such as are unmarried may not stay there, by special privilege from the King of Portugal granted to those that inhabit there, to the end the island should be peopled, and thereby kept and maintained.

Mozambique to Goa.

WE STAYED at Mozambique for the space of fifteen days, to provide fresh water and victuals for the supplying our wants. In the which time, divers of our men fell sick, and died by reason of the unaccustomed air of the place, which of itself is an unwholesome land; and has an evil air, by means of the great and unmeasurable heat.

The 20th of August, we set sail with all our company, that is our four ships of one fleet that came for Portugal; and a ship for the Captain of Mozambique whose three years were then finished. His name was Don PEDRO DE CASTRO; in whose place the aforesaid NUNO VELIO PEREIRA was then come.

The said Captain Don PEDRO returned with his wife and family again into India. For the King's commandment and and ordinance is, that after the expiration of their three years' office, they must yet stay three years more in India at the commandment of the Viceroy of India, in the King's service, at their own charges, before they may return into Portugal; unless they bring a special patent from the King, that after

they have continued three years in their office they may return into Portugal again: which is very seldom seen, unless it be by special favour. Likewise no man may travel out of India, unless he has the Viceroy's passport; and without it, they are not suffered to pass, for it is very narrowly looked into.

The 24th August, in the morning, we descried the two Comoro Islands; which lie from Mozambique northwards. On the south side of the principal island is a very high land, so high that in a whole day's sail with a good wind we could not lose the sight thereof.

The same day, the ships separated themselves again, according to the ancient manner, for the occasions aforesaid.

The 3rd of September, we once again passed the Equinoctial line, and had sight of the North Star.

The 4th of September, we espied a ship of our own fleet, and spake with him. It was the *San Francisco*, which sailed with us till the 7th day, and then left us.

The 13th of September, we saw another ship, which was the *San Jago;* which sailed out of sight again and spake, not with us.

The 20th of September, we perceived many snakes swimming in the sea, being as great as eels: and other things like the scales of fish, which the Portuguese call *vintins* (which are Half Rials of silver, Portuguese money, because they are like unto it), which swim and drive upon the sea in great quantities; which is a certain sign and token of the Indian coast.

Not long after, with great joy we descried land, and found ground in forty-seven fathoms deep. It was the land of Bardes, which is the uttermost end and entry of the river of Goa; being about three miles from the city. It is a high land where the ships of India do anchor and unlade; and from thence their wares are carried by boats to the town. That day we anchored out in the sea, about three miles from the land; because it was calm and the flood tide was past: yet it is not without danger, and hath round about a fair and fast land to anchor in.

The 21st, being the next day, there came to us divers boats called *almadias* [*canoes*] which boarded us, bringing with them all manner of fresh victuals from the land, as fresh bread and

fruit: Some of the boatmen were Indians that had been christened.

There came likewise a galley to fetch the Archbishop, and brought him to a place called Pangiin, which is in the middle way between Goa and the road of Bardes, and lieth upon the same river. Here he was welcomed and visited by the Viceroy of India, Don FRANCISCO MASCARENHAS, and by all the lords and gentry of the country, as well spiritual as temporal. The magistrates of the town desired him to stay there ten or twelve days, while preparation might be made to receive him with triumph into the city, as their manner is: which he granted them.

The same day, we entered the river into the road[stead] under the land of Bardes, being the 21st of September 1583, and five months and thirteen days after our putting forth of the river of Lisbon (including our stay of fifteen days at Mozambique): which was one of the speediest and shortest voyages that, in many years before and since that time, was ever performed. There we found the ship named *San Lorenzo* which arrived there a day before us.

The 22nd day, the *San Jago* came thither; and the next day after, arrived the *San Francisco*.

There died in our ship, thirty persons: among which some were slaves, and one a High Dutchman, that had been one of the King of Spain's Guard. Every man had been sick once or twice, and had let blood. This is ordinarily the number of men that die in the ships; sometimes more, sometimes less.

About ten or twelve years before, it chanced that a Viceroy for the King, named RUY LORENZO DETAVORA sailed for India, and had in his ship 1,100 men. There happened a sickness among them; so that there died thereof to the number of 900, who were all thrown overboard into the sea, before they came to Mozambique; the Viceroy himself being one. Which was an extraordinary sickness, and it is to be thought that the great number of the men in the ship was the cause of breeding the same. Therefore in these days the ships no longer take so many men with them: for with the number they do carry, they have stinking air and filth enough to cleanse within the ship.

The 30th of September, the Archbishop, my master, with

great triumph was brought into the town of Goa; and by the gentlemen and rulers of the country led into the Cathedral Church, singing *Te DEUM laudamus*; and after many ceremonies and ancient customs, they conveyed him to his palace, which is close by the Church.

The 20th of November, our admiral [*flag ship*] the *San Felipe* arrived at Cochin, without staying to land at any place; having endured much misery by the means before rehearsed, and having been seven months and twelve days under sail.

The last of the same month of November, the ships sailed from Goa to the coast of Malabar and Cochin, there to receive their lading of pepper and other spices. Some take in their lading on the coast of Malabar; and some at Cochin, which can always lade two ships with pepper. The ships unlade all their Portuguese commodities in Goa, where the merchants and factors are resident; and from thence sail along the coast to take in their lading. Each ship doth commonly lade 8,000 quintals of pepper, Portuguese weight. Every quintal is 128 [English] pounds. Then they come to Cochin, whither the Factors also do travel; and lade in cloves, cinnamon, and other Indian wares, as in my voyage homeward [*see pp.* 57-61, etc.], I will particularly declare.

In the months of January and February, *anno* 1584, the ships with their lading returned from Cochin, towards Portugal; with whom my brother went, because of his office in the ship: and I stayed with my master in India certain years to see and learn the manners and customs of the said lands, people, fruits, wares, and merchandise; with other things, which, when time serveth, I will in truth set down, as I for the most part have seen it with mine eyes.

JAN HUYGHEN VAN LINSCHOTEN.

Diary of occurrences in the Portuguese settlements in India, 1583–1588 A.D.

[*Discourse of Voyages &c.* 1598.]

Notice the marvellous security of the Portuguese in India at this time, under their triple protection: the Papal bull of 1494; the power of Spain; and England and Holland, as yet, quiescent and at home.

The exhaustive information which LINSCHOTEN gave of the East, led the way to the formation of the Dutch, and English East India Companies.

1583.

BOUT the same time [*i.e.*, *December* 1583], there came certain Jesuits to Goa, from the island of Japan; and with them, three Princes (being the children of Kings of that country) wholly apparelled like Jesuits: not one of them was above sixteen years of age. They were minded, by the persuasions of the Jesuits, to travel to Portugal; and from thence to Rome, to see the Pope: thereby to procure great profit, privileges, and liberties from him for the Jesuits; which was their only intent.

They continued in Goa till the year 1584, and then set sail for Portugal. From thence, they travelled into Spain: where, by the King and all the Spanish nobility, they were received with great honour: and presented with many gifts, which the Jesuits kept for themselves. Out of Spain, they went to see the Pope: from whom they obtained great privileges and liberties. That done, they travelled throughout Italy, as to Venice, Mantua, Florence; and all places and dominions in Italy: where they were presented with many rich presents, and much honoured; by means of the great report, the Jesuits made of them

To conclude. They returned again unto Madrid: where, with great honour, they took their leave of the King; with letters of commendation, in their behalf, unto the Viceroy and all the

Captains and Governors of India. So they went to Lisbon, and there took shipping, *anno* 1586, and came in the ship called *San Felipe* (which, on her return, was taken by Captain DRAKE); and after a long and troublesome voyage, arrived at Mozambique.

Where, the ship received her lading [homeward] out of another ship, called the *San Lorenzo* (ladened in India, and bound for Portugal), that, having lost her masts, had to put in there.

And, because the time was far spent to get into India, the said *San Felipe* took in the lading of the *San Lorenzo*; and was taken, in her way returning home, by the Englishmen: and was the first ship that was taken coming out of the East Indies; which the Portuguese took for an evil sign, because the ship bore the King's own name.

But returning to our matter. The Princes and the Jesuits of Japan, the next year after [*i.e.*, 1587], arrived at Goa, amidst great rejoicings and gladness; for that it was verily thought they had all been dead. When they came thither, they were all three apparelled in Cloth of Gold, and of Silver, after the Italian manner; which was the apparel that the Italian Princes and Noblemen had given them. They came thither very lively; and the Jesuits very proudly, for, by them, their voyage had been performed.

In Goa, they stayed till the monsoon or time of the winds came to sail for China; at which time, they went from thence, and so to China, and from thence to Japan; where, with great triumph and wondering of all the people, they were received and welcomed home, to the furtherance and credit of the Jesuits: as the book declareth, which they have written and set forth in the Spanish tongue, concerning their voyage, as well by water as by land, as also of the entertainment that they had in every place.

1584.

In the year 1584, in the month of June, there arrived in Goa many ambassadors, as from Persia, Cambaia, and from the *Samorin*, which is called, the Emperor of the Malabars, and also from the King of Cochin.

Among other things, there was a peace concluded by the Samorin and the Malabars with the Portuguese, upon con-

dition that the Portuguese should have a fort upon a certain haven lying on the coast of Malabar, called Panane, ten miles from Calicut; which was presently begun to be built.

There, with great cost and charges, they raised and erected a fort; but because the ground is all sandy, they could make no sure foundation. For it sank continually, whereby they found it best to leave it; after they had spent in making and keeping thereof, at the least, four tons of gold, and reaped no profit thereof: intending thereby, if the Samorin should break his word, and come forth (as oftentimes he had done), that, by means of that haven, they would keep him in; where he should have no place to come abroad, to do them any more mischief. But seeing that the Malabars had many other havens and places, from whence they might put forth to work them mischief; and as much as ever they did (although the Samorin protested not to know of them; as also that he could not let [*hinder*] it, saying, "They were sea rovers, and were neither subject unto him, nor any man else"): they left their fort, and put no great trust in the Malabars, as being one of the most rebellious and traitorous nations in all the Indies; who make many a travelling merchant poor, by reason the sea coast is made by them, so dangerous and perilous to sail by.

For the which cause, the Portuguese army by sea [*i.e.*, *their navy*] is yearly sent forth out of Goa, only to clear the coast of them: yet are there many Malabars, in divers places, who, by roving and stealing, do much mischief in the country, both by water and by land. They keep themselves on the seaside, where they have their creeks to come forth; and to carry their prizes in, to hide them in the country.

They dwell in straw houses upon stony hills, and rocks not inhabited, so that they cannot be overcome; neither do they care for the Samorin, nor any other man else.

There is a haven belonging to these rovers, about twelve miles distant from Goa, called Sanguisceu; where many of them dwell, and do so much mischief: that no man can pass by, but that they receive some wrong by them. So that there came, daily, complaints unto the Viceroy, who then was named Don FRANCISCO DE MASCHARENHAS, Earl of VILLA DORTA; who, to remedy the same, sent unto the Samorin, to will him to punish them: who returned the messenger again,

with answer that "He had no power over them, neither yet could command them, as being subject to no man;" and gave the Viceroy free liberty to punish them at his pleasure, promising that he should have his aid therein.

Which the Viceroy understanding, prepared an army [*i.e.*, *squadron*] of fifteen foists, over which he made chief Captain, his nephew, a gentleman called Don JULIANES MASCHARENHAS; giving him express commandment first to go unto the haven of Sanguisceu, and utterly to raze the same down to the ground.

This fleet being at sea, and coming to the said haven, the Admiral of the fleet asked counsel what was best to be done: because Sanguisceu is an island, lying with the coast, a river running about it, and many cliffs [*rocks*] and shallows in the entrance; so that, at low water, men can hardly enter in.

At the last, they appointed that the Admiral with half the fleet, should put in on the one side; and the Vice-Admiral, called JOAN BARRIGA, with the other half, should enter on the other side. Which being concluded, the Admiral, commanding the rest to follow, entered first, and rowed even to the firm land; thinking they were coming after: but the other Captains, who were all young and inexperienced gentlemen, began to quarrel among themselves, who should be first or last? whereby the fleet was separated. Some lay in one place, some in another, upon the banks and shallows, and could not stir; so that they could not come to help the Admiral, nor yet stir backwards or forwards. And when the Vice-Admiral should have put in on the other side; the Captains that were with him would not obey him, saying "He was no gentleman, and that they were his betters." Upon these, and such like points, most of the Portuguese enterprises do stand, and are taken in hand; whereby, most commonly, they receive the overthrow. By the same means, this fleet was likewise spoiled, and could not help themselves.

Which those of Sanguisceu, having forsaken their houses and being on the tops of the hills, seeing that the foists lay about, one separated from the other, upon the rocks and shallows, not able to put off; and that the Admiral lay alone upon the strand, and could not stir: they took courage, and, in great number, set upon the Admiral's foist; and put all to

the sword, except such as saved themselves by swimming. And although the Admiral might well have saved himself, for a slave offered to bear him on his back; yet he would not, saying that "He had rather die honourably fighting against the enemy, than to save his life with dishonour." So that he defended himself most valiantly, but when so many came upon him that he could no longer resist them, they slew him; and cut off his head in presence of all the other foists. Which done, they stuck the head upon a pike, crying, in mocking, unto the other Portuguese, "Come and fetch your Captain again!" to their no little shame and dishonour, that in the meantime, looked one upon another, like owls.

In the end, they departed from thence with the fleet, every man severally by himself, like sheep without a shepherd; and so returned again to Goa with that great victory. The Captains were presently [*at once*] committed to prison, but, each man excusing himself, were all discharged again: great sorrow being made for the Admiral, especially by the Viceroy, because he was his brother's son; who was also much lamented by every man, as a man very well beloved for his courteous and gentle behaviour. The other Captains, on the contrary, were much blamed; as they well deserved.

Presently thereupon, they made ready another army, with other Captains, whereof Don JERONIMO MASCHARENHAS, who was cousin to the aforesaid one deceased, was Admiral, to revenge his death. This fleet set foot on land, and, with all their power, entered among the houses; but the Sangueseans that purposely watched for them, perceiving them to come, fled into the mountains, leaving their straw houses empty, whither they could not be followed by reason of the wildness of the place: whereupon the Portuguese burnt down their houses and cut down their trees, razing all things to the ground. With which destruction, they departed thence; no man resisting them.

At the same time, the [Portuguese] Rulers of Cochin began, by the commandment of the Viceroy, to set up a Custom House in the town; which till that time, had never been there. For which, the inhabitants rose up, and would have slain them that went about it. Whereupon they left off till

such time as the new Viceroy, called Don DUARTE DE MENESES came out of Portugal; who, with the old Viceroy, assembled a Council at Cochin, where the Government was delivered unto him: where he used such means, that by fair words and entreaty, they erected their Custom House; and got the townsmen's goodwill, but more by compulsion than otherwise. Which custom is a great profit to the King, by means of the traffic therein used: for there the Portuguese ships do make themselves ready with their full lading, to sail from thence to Portugal.

The same year [1584], in the month of September, there arrived in Goa, a Portuguese ship, called the *Dom Jesus de Carania*, that brought news of four ships more that were on the way, with a new Viceroy called Don DUARTE DE MENESES: which caused great joy throughout the city, all the bells being rung, as the manner is, when the first ship of every Fleet arriveth in Goa, out of Portugal. In that ship came certain canoniers [*gunners*], Netherlanders; that brought me letters out of Holland, which was no small comfort to me.

Not long after, in the same month, there arrived another ship, called *Boa Viagen* [*p.* 38], wherein were many gentlemen, and Knights of the Cross that came to serve the King in India: among whom, was one of my Lord Archbishop's brethren, called ROQUE DA FONSECA [*p.* 37]. The other lords were Don JORGIE TUBAL DE MENESES, Chief Standard Bearer to the King of Portugal, newly chosen Captain of Soffala and Mozambique, in regard of certain service that he had, in times past, done for the King in India; JOAN GOMES DA SILVA, the new Captain of Ormus: and Don FRANCISCO MASCHARENHAS, brother of Don JULIANES MASCHARENHAS that was slain in Sanguisceu, as I said before, who was to have had the Captain's place of Ormus; but, by means of his death, it was given unto his brother Don FRANCISCO, for the term of three years, after he that is in it, had served his full time.

In November after, the other three ships arrived in Cochin. They had sailed outside of Saint Lawrence's Island [*Madagascar*], not putting into Mozambique. The ships' names were *Santa Maria*, *Arreliquias*; and the admiral [*flag ship*] *Las cinque chagas* or "The Five Wounds" [*i.e.*, *of our Saviour, usually called, the Stigmata*]. In her, came the Viceroy Don DUARTE DE MENESES, that had been Captain of

Tangier in Barbary: and there were in this ship, nine hundred soldiers and gentlemen that came to safe conduct the Viceroy, besides above a hundred sailors. They had been above seven months upon the way, without taking [*touching*] land, before they arrived at Cochin: where the Viceroy was received with great solemnity.

Being landed, he presently sent to the old Viceroy, to certify him of his arrival; and that he should commit the Government of the country unto the Archbishop, to govern it in his absence (especially because the Archbishop and he were very good friends and old acquaintance; having been prisoners together in Barbary, when Don SEBASTIAN King of Portugal was slain): which the old Viceroy presently did, and went by sea to Cochin; that he might return to Portugal with the same ship, as the Viceroys use to do. For after their time of Government is out, they may not stay any longer in India.

The 10th of November, *anno* 1584, the ship called *Carania* went from Goa to Cochin; there to take in pepper and other wares. Then do all the Factors go to Cochin to lade their wares; and when the ships are laden and ready to depart, they return again to Goa: where they still remain. In that ship, the old Viceroy, with many gentlemen, sailed to Cochin.

1585.

The 5th of February 1585, the Viceroy, Don DUARTE DE MENESES, arrived in Goa; where he was received with great triumph and feasting.

In the month of April, the same year, my fellow, and servant to the Archbishop (called BARNARD BURCHERTS, and born in Hamburg [vol. I. *p.* 318]), travelled from Goa unto Ormus, and from thence, to Balsora; and from thence, by land, through Babylon, Jerusalem, Damascus, to Aleppo, from whence he sent me two letters, by an Armenian: wherein he certified me of all his voyage; which he performed with small charges and less danger, in good fellowship, and very merry in the company of the *Caffilas*. From Aleppo he went to Tripolis; and there he found certain ships for England, wherein he sailed to London; and from thence to Hamburg: which I understood by letters from him, written from thence.

In the month of August, there came letters from Venice

by land, that brought news of the murder of the Prince of ORANGE, a man of honourable memory; as also the death of the Duke of ALENÇON or ANJOU; with the marriage of the Duke of SAVOY to the King of Spain's daughter.

The 20th of October, there arrived in Goa, the ship called the *San Francisco*, that came out of Portugal. In it, came some Dutch cannoneers, that brought me letters out of my country; with the news of the death of my father, HUYGHEN JOOSTEN of Harlem.

The 1st of November after [1585], arrived at Cochin, the *Sant Alberto* that came from Portugal. And the 1st of December, that year, there arrived at Cananor, upon the Malabar coast, the ship called the *San Lorenzo*; and from thence, came to Goa: most of her men being sick, and about ninety of them dead; they having endured great misery, and not having once put to land. At that time, there wanted [but] two of the Fleet that came from Lisbon in company with her: and they were the *San Salvador*, and the admiral [*flag ship*], *San Jago*; whereof they could hear no news.

At the same time, there arrived certain Italians, overland, in Goa, and brought news of the death of Pope GREGORY XIII., and of the election of the new Pope, called SIXTUS VI.

At that time, also, the ships that came from Portugal, sailed to Cochin, to take in their lading; which done, in the month of January 1586, they sailed for Portugal.

In the month of May 1586, letters were brought to the Viceroy and Archbishop at Goa, from the Captain of Soffala and Mozambique, to certify them of the casting away [*in the previous August*] of the admiral *San Jago*, that set out of Portugal, the year before, *anno* 1585.

She was cast away in this manner. The ship having come, with a good speedy wind and weather, from the Cape of Good Hope to Mozambique: they had passed, as they thought, all dangers; so that they needed not to fear anything. Yet it is good for the Master and others to be careful and keep good watch, and not to stand too much upon their own cunning and conceits, as these did; which was the principal cause of their casting away.

Between the Island of St. Lawrence and the firm land, in 22½° S., there are certain shallows [*shoals*] called the "India," ninety miles from the Mozambique. Those shallows

are mostly of clear coral of black, white, and green colours, which is very dangerous. Therefore it is good reason they should shun them; and surely the Pilots ought to have great care, especially such as are in the Indian ships, because the whole ship and safety thereof lieth in their hands and is only ruled by them; and that, by express commandment from the King, so that no man may contrary them.

They being thus between the lands, and by all the sailors' judgements hard by the "Shoals of India" [*p.* 15], the Pilot took the height of the sun, and made his account that they were past the Shallows; commanding the Master to make all the sail he could, and freely to sail to Mozambique, without any let or stay. And although there were divers sailors in the ship, that likewise had their "cards," some to learn, others for their pleasure; as divers officers, the Master, and the Chief Boatswain, that said it was better to keep aloof, specially by night, and that it would be good to hold good watch because they found that they had not, as then, passed the Shallows: yet the Pilot said the contrary, and would needs show that he only had skill and power to command; as commonly the Portuguese, by pride, do cast themselves away; because they will follow no man's counsel, and be under no man's subjection, specially when they have authority. As it happened to this Pilot, that would hear no man speak, nor take any counsel but his own; and therefore commanded that they should do, as he appointed them.

Whereupon, they hoisted all their sails, and sailed in that sort till it was midnight, both with a good wind and fair weather; but the moon not shining, they fell full upon the Shallows, being of clear white coral, and so sharp that, with the force of wind and water that drave the ship upon them, it cut the ship in two pieces as if it had been sawn in sunder: so that the keel and two orlops [*i.e.*, *decks*] lay still upon the ground, and the upper part, being driven somewhat further, at the last, stuck fast; the mast being also broken.

Wherewith, you might have heard so great a cry that all the air did sound therewith: for that in the ship, being admiral [*flag ship*], there were at the least five hundred persons: among the which were thirty women, with many Jesuits and friars. So that, as then, there was nothing else to be done, but every man to shrift, bidding each other fare-

well, and asking of all men forgiveness; with weeping and crying, as it may well be thought.

The Admiral, called FERNANDO DE MENDOZA, the Master, the Pilot, and ten or twelve more, presently entered into the small boat, keeping it with naked rapiers, that no more should enter, saying they "would go and see if there were any dry place in the Shallows; whereon they might work to make a boat of the pieces of the broken ship, therein to sail unto the shore, and so to save their lives." Wherewith, they put them that were behind in some small comfort; but not much. But when they had rowed about, and finding no dry place, they durst not return again unto the ship: lest the boat should have been overladen and so drowned; and in the ship, they looked for no help. Wherefore, in fine, they concluded to row to land; having about twelve boxes of marmalade, with a pipe of wine and some biscuit, which, in haste, they had thrown into the boat; which they dealt among them, as need required. So commending themselves to GOD, they rowed forwards towards the coast; and after they had been seventeen days upon the sea, with great hunger, thirst, and labour, they fell on the land: where they saved themselves.

The rest that stayed in the ship, seeing the boat came not again; it may well be thought what case they were in. At the last, one side of the upper part of the ship, between both the upper orlops, where the great boat lay, burst out; and the boat being half burst, began to come forth: but, because there was small hope to be had, and few of them had little will to prove masteries, no man laid hand thereon, but every man sate looking one upon another. At the last, an Italian, called CYPRIAN GRIMOALDO, rose up, and taking courage unto him, said, "Why are we thus abashed? Let us seek to help ourselves, and see if there be any remedy to save our lives!" Wherewith presently, he leaped into the boat, with an instrument in his hand, and began to make it clean; whereat some others began to take courage, and to help him as well as they could, with such things as first came to their hands. So that in the end, there leaped, at the least, fourscore and ten persons into it, and many hung by the hands upon the boat swimming after it, among the which were some women: but because they would not sink the boat, they were forced to cut off the fingers, hands, and arms of such as held thereon, and

let them fall into the sea; and they threw many overboard, being such as had not wherewith to defend themselves.

Which done, they set forward, committing themselves to GOD; with the greatest cry and pitifullest noise that ever was heard, as though heaven and earth had gone together: when they took their leave of such as stayed in the ship. In which manner, having rowed certain days, and having but small store of victuals; for that they were so many in the boat that it was ready to sink, it being likewise very leaky and not able to hold out. In the end, they agreed among themselves to chose a captain, to whom they would obey and do as he commanded: and among the rest, they chose a gentleman, a *Mestizo* [*half-caste*] of India; and swore to obey him. He presently commanded to throw some of them overboard, such as, at that time, had least means or strength to help themselves. Among the which, there was a carpenter that had, not long before, helped to dress the boat: who seeing that the lot fell upon him, desired them to give him a piece of marmalade and a cup of wine; which when they had done, he willingly suffered himself to be thrown overboard in the sea, and so was drowned.

There was another of those, that in Portugal are called New Christians. He being allotted to be cast overboard in the sea, had a younger brother in the same boat, that suddenly rose up and desired the Captain that he would pardon and make free his brother, and let him supply his place, saying, "My brother is older, and of better knowledge in the world than I, and therefore more fit to live in the world, and to help my sisters and friends in their need: so that I had rather die for him, then to live without him." At which request, they let the elder brother loose, and threw the younger at his own request into the sea; who swam at the least six hours after the boat. And although they held up their hands with naked rapiers willing him that he should not once come to touch the boat: yet laying hold thereon, and having his hand half cut in two, he would not let go; so that in the end, they were constrained to take him in again. Both the which brethren, I knew, and have been in company with them.

In this misery and pain, they were twenty days at sea; and in the end got to land: where they found the Admiral and those that were in the other boat.

Such as stayed in the ship, some took boards, deals, and other pieces of wood; and bound them together, which the Portuguese call *Jangadas* [*rafts*]; every man what they could catch, all hoping to save their lives: but of all those, there came but two men safe to shore.

They that had before landed out of the boats, having escaped that danger, fell into another; for they had no sooner set foot on shore, but they were spoiled by the inhabitants of that country, called Kaffirs, of all their clothes: whereby they endured great hunger and misery, with many other mischiefs, which it would be over tedious to rehearse. In the end, they came unto a place where they found a Factor of the Captains of Soffala and Mozambique, and he helped them as he might; and made means to send them unto Mozambique: and from thence, they went into India; where I knew many of them, and have often spoken with them.

Of those that were come safe to shore, some of them died before they got to Mozambique. So that in all, there were about sixty persons that saved themselves. All the rest were drowned or smothered in the ship; and there was never other news of the ship than as you have heard.

Hereby, you may consider the pride of this Pilot; who, because he would be counselled by no man, cast away that ship with so many men: wherefore a Pilot ought not to have so great authority, that, in time of need, he should reject and not hear the counsel of such as are most skilful.

This Pilot, when he came into Portugal, was committed to prison; but, by gifts and presents, he was let loose: and another ship [*San Thomas*], being the best of the Fleet that went for India, *anno* 1588, was committed unto him; not without great curses and evil words of the mothers, sisters, wives, and children of those that perished in the ship, which all cried "Vengeance on him!"

And coming with the ship, called the *San Thomas*, wherein he then was placed, he had almost laid her on the same place, where the other was cast away; but day coming on, they room themselves off [*gave it a wide berth*], and so escaped.

Yet in their voyage homeward to Portugal, the same ship was cast away by the Cape of Good Hope [*pp.* 70, 78],

with the Pilot and all her men: whereby much speech arose, saying "It was a just judgement of GOD against him, for making so many widows and fatherless children."

This I thought good to set down at large, because men might see that many a ship is cast away by the headiness of the Governors, and the unskilfulness of the Pilots: wherefore it were good to examine the persons before a ship be committed unto them; especially a ship of such a charge, and wherein consisteth the welfare or undoing of so many men, together with their lives; and impoverishing of so many a poor wife and child.

This loss happened in the month of August, *anno* 1585.

1586.

In May, *anno* 1586, two ships, laden with ware, set sail out of the haven of Chaul in India, that belonged unto certain Portuguese inhabitants of Chaul; the owners being in them. Those ships should have sailed to the Straits of Mecca or the Red Sea, where the said merchants used to traffic; but they were taken by two Turkish galleys that had been made in the innermost parts of the Red Sea, in a town called Suez. The said galleys began to do great mischief; and put all the Indian merchants in great fear.

The same month, there was a great army prepared in Goa, both of foists and galleys, such as had not been seen in many years; and was appointed to sail to the Red Sea, to drive the Turkish galleys away, or else fight with them if they could. They were also commanded by the Viceroy to winter their ships in Ormus: and then to enter into the Straits of Persia [*Persian Gulf*], lying behind Ormus; and to offer their services to XATAMAS [*ABBAS I.*], King [*Shah*] of Persia, against the Turk, their common enemy. Thereby to trouble him on all sides, if they had brought their purpose to effect; but it fell out otherwise, as you shall hear.

For Chief of this army, there was appointed a gentleman named RUY GONSALVES DA CAMARA, who had once been Captain of Ormus; being a very fat and gross man, which was one of the chief occasions of their evil fortune. With him, went the principal soldiers and gentlemen of all India; thinking to win great honour thereby.

This army being ready, and minding to sail to the Red

Sea; they found many calms upon the way, so that they endured much misery, and began to die like dogs, as well for want of drink as other necessaries. For they had not made their account to stay so long upon the way; which is always their excuse, if anything falleth out contrary to their minds. This was their good beginning, and as it is thought a preparative to further mischief. For coming to the Red Sea, at the mouth thereof, they met the Turkish galleys; where they had a long fight: but, in the end, the Portuguese had the overthrow; and escaped, as well as they might, with great dishonour and no little loss.

The Turks being victorious, sailed to the coast of Melinde, where they took certain towns, as Pate and Brava, that, then, were in league with the Portuguese: there to strengthen themselves, and thereby to reap a greater benefit, by damaging the Portuguese, and lying under their noses.

The Portuguese army having sped in this manner, went to Ormus, to winter themselves there; and, in the meantime, to repair their army, and to heal their sick soldiers, whereof they had many.

When the time served to fulfil the Viceroy's commandment, in helping XATAMAS, having repaired their foists; the General, by reason of his fatness and corpulent body, stayed in Ormus: and appointed as Lieutenant in his place, one called PEDRO HOMEN PEREIRA (who, although he was but a mean gentleman, yet was he a very good soldier, and of great experience): commanding them to obey him in all things, as if he were there in person himself.

He gave them also in charge to land, as they sailed along the coast of Arabia, to punish certain pirates that held a place called Nicolu [? *Nackiloo*]; and spoiled such as passed to and fro upon the seas; doing great hurt to the ships and merchants of Bussorah that trafficed to Ormus: whereby the traffic to the said town of Ormus was much hindered, to the great loss and undoing of many a merchant.

With this commission, they set forward with their Lieutenant; and being come to Nicolu; they ran their foists on shore, so that they lay half dry upon the sand. Every man in general leaped on land, without any order of battle; as in all their actions they use to do: which the Lieutenant perceiving, would have used his authority, and have

placed them in order as is requisite to be done in warlike affairs. But they, on the contrary, would not obey him, saying, "He was but a boor! and that they were better gentleman and soldiers than he!" With these, and such like presumptuous speeches, they went on their course; scattering here and there in all disorder, like sheep without a shepherd: thinking all the world not sufficient to contain them, and every Portuguese to be a HERCULES, and so strong that they could bear the whole world upon their shoulders.

Which the Arabs, being within the land and mostly on horseback, perceiving (and seeing their great disorder; and knowing most of the foists to lie dry on the strand, and that, without great pain and much labour, they could not hastily set them afloat), presently compassed them about, and being ringed in manner of a half moon, they fell upon them; and, in that sort, drave them away, killing them as they listed, till they came unto their foists: and because they could not presently [*at once*] get their foists into the water, they were compelled, through fear and shame, to fight; where likewise many of them were slain, and not above fifty of them escaped that had set foot on land. So having got into their foists, they rowed away.

In this overthrow, there were slain about eight hundred Portuguese, of the oldest and best soldiers in all India. Among them was a trumpeter, being a Netherlander; who, being in the thickest of the fight, not far from the Portuguese Ensign, and seeing the Ensign-bearer throw down his Ensign (the easier to escape and save his life), and that one of the Arabs had taken it up: casting his trumpet at his back, he ran with great fury, and with his rapier killed the Arab that held it, and brought it again among the Portuguese, saying, "It was a great shame for them to suffer it to be carried away." In that manner, he held it, at the least, a whole hour, and spoiled many of the Arabs that sought to take it from him, in such manner, that he stood compassed about with dead men: and although he might have saved himself if he would have left the Ensign, yet he would not do it; till, in the end, there came so many upon him that they killed him, where he yielded up the ghost with the Ensign in his arms. And so ended his days with honour; which the Portuguese themselves did confess, and often acknowledged it; commending

his valour: which I thought good to set down in this place, for a perpetual memory of his valiant mind.

The Lieutenant, perceiving their disorder and how it would fall out, wisely saved himself, and got into the foists, where he beheld the overthrow; and in the end, with empty vessels, he turned again to Ormus, without doing anything else: to the great grief and shame of all the Indian soldiers; being the greatest overthrow that ever the Portuguese had in those countries, or wherein they lost so many Portuguese together. Among the which, was the Archbishop's brother [*p.* 27], and many other young and lusty gentlemen, of the principal [families] in all Portugal.

At the same time [*i.e., in the spring of* 1587], the Queen of Ormus came to Goa, being of MAHOMET's religion, as all her ancestors had been before her; and as then, contributory [*subject*] to the Portuguese. She caused herself to be christened, and was brought, with great solemnity, unto the town; where the Viceroy was her godfather, and named her Donna PHILLIPPA, after the King of Spain's name: being a fair white woman, very tall and comely. With her, likewise, a brother of hers, being very young: and, then, with one MATTHIAS D'ALBUQUERQUE, that had been Captain of Ormus, she sailed to Portugal [*in the* Nostra Señora da Sancao; *see pp.* 40-51; *which arrived in Portugal on* 12*th of August* 1587, *see p.* 51] to present herself to the King.

She had [*or rather*, afterwards] married with a Portuguese gentleman, called ANTONIO DAZEVEDO COUTINHO; to whom, the King, in regard of his marriage, gave the Captainship of Ormus, which is worth [*in the three years*] about 200,000 ducats [= *about* £50,000 *then* = £300,000 *now*].

[The following occurrence must have been after LINSCHOTEN's departure from India, in November 1588.]

This gentleman, after he had been married to the Queen about half a year, living very friendly and lovingly with her, he caused a ship to be made, therewith to sail to Ormus; to take order there for the rents and revenues belonging to the Queen, his wife. But his departure was so grievous unto her, that she desired him to take her with him; saying that "she could not live without him!" but, because he thought it not then convenient, he desired her to be content; promis-

ing to return again with all the speed he might. Whereupon, he went to Bardes, which is the uttermost part of the river entering into Goa, about three miles off. While he continued there, staying for wind and weather; the Queen, as it is said, took so great grief for his departure, that she died the same day that her husband set sail and put to sea: to the great admiration [*wonder*] of all the country; and no less sorrow, because she was the first Queen, in those countries, that had been christened, forsaking her kingdom and high Estate, rather to die a Christian, and be married to a mean [*private*] gentleman than to live like a Queen under law of MAHOMET. And so was buried with great honour, according to her estate.

In the month of August 1586, there arrived a man of Mozambique in Goa, that came from Portugal in the ship that should sail to Malacca [*usually leaving Lisbon about February: in this instance, about February* 1585] that brought news unto the Viceroy, how the ship, called the *Boa Viagen*, that, in the year before [*i.e.*, *January* 1585 *see p.* 27], sailed from India towards Portugal, was cast away by the Cape of Good Hope: where it burst in pieces, being overladen (for they do commonly overlade most of their ships), and affirmed that the ship had, at the least, nine handsful height of water within it, before it departed from Cochin; although, before their ships set sail, they put the Master and other Officers to their oaths, thereby to make them confess "If the ship be strong and sufficient to perform the voyage, or to let them know the faults!" Which, upon their said oaths, is certified by a *Protestation*, whereunto the Officers set their hands. Yet, though the ship have so many faults, they will never confess them, because they will not lose their places and the profit of the voyage; yea, although they do assuredly know the ship is not able to continue the voyage: for covetousness, overthrowing wisdom and policy, maketh them reject all fear; but when they fall into danger, then they can speak fair, and promise many things.

In that sort, most of the ships depart from Cochin, so that if any of them come safely to Portugal, it is only by the will of GOD; for, otherwise, it were impossible to escape, because they overlade them, and the ships are, otherwise, so badly

provided, and with little order among their men: so that not one ship cometh home but can show of their great dangers by overlading, want of necessaries, and reparations of the ship, together with unskilful sailors; yet for all these daily and continual dangers, there is no amendment, but they daily grow worse and worse.

In this ship, called the *Boa Viagen*, were many gentlemen of the best and principal, that had served a long time in India; travelling then into Portugal, with their certificates, to get some reward for their service, as the manner is. Because it was one of the best and greatest ships of that fleet, the Ambassador of XATAMAS [*ABBAS I.*], King [*Shah*] of Persia, went therein, to procure a league with the King of Spain, to join with him against the Turk, their common enemy: but he being drowned, the Persian would send no more Ambassadors; and yet he is still in league and good friendship with the Portuguese.

The worst ship that saileth from Cochin to Portugal, is worth, at the least, a million of gold [*i.e., of ducats = about* £300,000 *then=about* £1,800,000 *now*], and this was one of the best ships; whereby it may be considered what great loss cometh by the casting away of one of their ships, besides the men. For there never passeth a year; but one or two of they are cast away, either in going or coming.

In the month of September, the same year, 1586; there arrived four ships out of Portugal, in Goa, called the *San Thomas*, *San Salvador* [*p.* 44], the *Arreliquias*, the *Dom Jesus de Carania*: but of their admiral, the *San Felipe*, they had no news since their departure from Lisbon.

On the last of November, the same ships departed from Goa: some along the coast of Malabar, to take in their lading of pepper, and from thence to Cochin; others direct to Cochin, where commonly one or two of them are laden with pepper, and where, alone, all other kind of wares are laden.

At the same time, there was a ship called the *Ascention*, that lay in Goa, and had made certain voyages to China and Japan: which ship was bought by the Factors for Pepper, because the ship *Carania*, by reason of her oldness, was broken in Cochin, and set upon the stocks there, to be new made; but was not finished, by reason of a certain controversy that fell among the Factors.

In this ship, [newly] called *Nostra Señora da Sancao*, my Lord the Archbishop sailed to Portugal, by reason of certain quarrels newly begun between the Viceroy with other Councillors, and the Archbishop. And although he was entreated by the Viceroy, all the Council, gentlemen and communalty of Goa, not to leave them; yet he would not be dissuaded from his purpose, but went to ride unto the King, of whom he was well beloved: which the Viceroy and others liked not very well, fearing he should give some information to the King, which would be smally to their profit.

In that mind, he undertook his voyage, discharging all his servants; saving some that he kept about him for his service: and leaving no man in his house, but only his Steward and myself, to receive his rents, and keep his house. And because, as then, the Golden Jubilee or Pardon of Rome, called *La Santa Crusada*, was newly brought into the Indies (being granted to the end that, with the money that should be gathered by virtue thereof, the Captains and prisoners in Africa or Barbary, that had been taken prisoners in the battle wherein Don SEBASTIAN, King of Portugal, was slain, should be redeemed); the Golden Jubilee was sent unto the Archbishop: who, being appointed the Roman Apostolic Commissary, &c., for the same, made me the General Clerk throughout all India, to keep account of the said receipts; and gave me one of the keys of the chest wherein the money lay, with a good stipend, and other profits belonging to the same, during the time of his absence. Thereby the rather to bind me, that I should remain in his house, and keep the same till his return again; as I had promised unto him.

1587.

So he set sail from Cochin, in the month of January, *anno* 1587; his Pilot being the same man that cast the *San Jago* away upon the "Flats of India," as it is said before [*pp.* 30-33].

The ships, at that time, being ready to set sail, one some four or five days after the other, as they were laden (for they observe a certain order therein, the better to register all their wares and merchandise), it so fell out that all the other ships being despatched; the *Arreliquias* only was the last that laded. Which ship having taken in her whole lading, the

Officers, and some of the Factors, being bribed, suffered some of the ballast to be taken out, and in place thereof laded cinnamon: for, at that time, cinnamon was risen, and at a very high price in Portugal; and therefore the Officers and Factors, by gifts aforesaid, suffered it to be laden in that manner, having no other place to lade it in.

You must understand that when the time cometh to set sail, the ships lying at anchor about a mile within the sea, where they received their lading (the reason why they lie so far is because it is summer time; and there the sea is as calm and still, as if it were within the land), a trumpet is sounded throughout all the town of Cochin to call them all on board: wherewith, all that will sail, do presently come down, accompanied with their friends, which, in small boats called *Tones* and *Pallenges*, bring them aboard; with great store of bread, and such like victuals. So that you shall, many times, see the ships hung round about with boats, at the least three or four hundred; with such a noise and rejoicing, as it is wonderful to hear.

Sometimes the ships are so ladened that the cables touch the water, and besides that, the hatches are covered with divers chests, seven or eight one above another; they having no other place to set them in: for that under the hatches they are so stuffed, that there is not any empty room. So that when they set sail, they know not where to begin, nor how to rule the ship; neither can they well, for a month after, tell how to place all things in order.

So it was with this ship, which being thus prepared, the *Viador da Fazenda*, or the King's Officers, came aboard, asking "If the ship were ready to set sail, and depart?" They say, "It was ready." And he having made a *Protestation* or Certificate thereof, the Officers set to their hands, as some say; but others deny it. Presently he commanded them to wind up their cables and hoisted anchor, as the manner is. So they let their sails fall, with a great cry of *Boa Viagen!* "GOD send them good fortune, and a merry voyage!" all the boats being still aboard [*attached*]; which commonly do hang at her at least a mile or half a mile within the sea; because it is calm.

This ship, called the *Arreliquias*, beginning in this manner to sail, among other romage [*lumber*] that stood on the

hatches, there were certain hens' cages; from whence, certain hens flew out: whereupon every man claimed them for his own, and, upon a Sunday, as in such cases it is commonly seen, they ran all on a heap upon one side; whereby the ship (being light of ballast, and laden with many chests above the hatches, as I said before) swayed so much on the one side that, by little and little, it sank clean under the water, so that not above a handful of the mast could be seen above the water.

The people leaped into the boats that, as yet, were hanging above the ship, which was good fortune for them; otherwise, there had not one escaped alive: but, by that means, they were all saved; excepting only the slaves, that were bound with iron chains and could not stir, and so were drowned.

GOD knoweth what riches were lost in her! For nothing was saved, but some few chests that stood above the hatches; which the duckers [*divers*] got up, and yet the goods in them were, in a manner, spoiled: the rest was utterly lost.

By this, it may be considered what manner the Portuguese use in lading of their ships; and that it is to be thought that the many ships that are cast away, whereof there hath been heard no news or tidings, are only lost by means of evil order and government.

This being so unluckily fallen out, the Merchants used all the speed and means they could, by witnesses, to make Protestation against the Officers and Factors of the pepper, that they might be punished for taking out the ballast: but they kept themselves out of the way; and, by prolonging of time, it was forgotten, and nothing done therein. So the Merchants, that had received all the loss, were glad to put it up.

In the same month [*January* 1587], came news out of Malacca, that it was in great danger, and that many died there for hunger; as also that the ship that went from Portugal thither, was forced to stay there, because they had no victuals to despatch it away [*pp.* 43, 46]: and likewise, that the Strait of Sumatra was kept by the enemy, so that there no ships could pass that way to China or Japan. This was done by the kings [*chiefs*] of Sumatra, that is to say, the kings of Achen [*Achin*] and Jor, lying by Malacca upon the firm

land; who rebelled against the Portuguese in Malacca, upon a certain injury done unto them by the Captain there.

This news put Goa in a great alteration, for their principal traffic is to Malacca, China, and Japan, and the islands bordering on the same: which, by reason of these wars, was wholly hindered. Whereupon a great number of foists, galleys, and ships were prepared in Goa to relieve Malacca, and all the townsmen tasked [*taxed*], every one at a certain sum of money, besides the money that was brought from other places; and men taken up to serve in ships, for by means of their late overthrows, [the Portuguese] India was, at that time, very weak of men.

In the month of May, *anno* 1587, there came a ship or galley of Mozambique unto Goa, brings news that the ship, the *San Felipe*, had been there, and taken in the lading of pepper that was in the ship called the *San Lorenzo* [*p.* 29] that had arrived there in her voyage towards Portugal, and was all open above the hatches and without masts, most of her goods being thrown into the sea: whereby, miraculously, they saved their lives, and, by fortune, put into Mozambique. In this ship, called the *San Felipe*, were the young princes, the Kings' children of Japan, as is before declared [*at p.* 22-3].

The same galley which brought this news from Mozambique to Goa, likewise brought news of the army that sailed out of Goa, in December 1586, being the year before, unto the coast of Melinde, to revenge the injury which they had received in the fleet whereof RUY GONSALVES DA CAMARA was Captain, as I said before; as also to punish the towns that, at the same time, had united themselves with the Turk, and broken league with the Portuguese [*p.* 34-7]. Of this army was General, a gentleman called MARTIN ALONZO DE MELLO.

Wherewith, coming upon the coast of Abex or Melinde, which lyeth between Mozambique and the Red Sea, they went on land; and, because the Turks whom they sought for, were gone home through the Red Sea, they determined to punish and plague the towns that favoured the Turks, and broken their alliance with them. To this end, they entered into the country as far as the towns of Pate and Brava, that little thought of them, and easily overran them; for the most part of the people fled to save themselves, and left their towns. Whereby the Portuguese did what pleased them, burning the

towns with others that lay about them, and razing them to the ground: and among those that fled, they took the King [*chief*] of Pate, whose head, in great fury, they caused to be stricken off, and brought it to Goa; where, for certain days, it stood on a mast in the middle of the town, for an example to all others, as also in sign of victory.

Wherewith, the Portuguese began to be somewhat encouraged. So they went from thence to Ormus; and from Ormus they were to go to help the King of Persia, as the Viceroy had commanded them. But being at Ormus, many of their men fell sick and died: among the which the General, Martin Alfonso de Mello was one. Whereupon they returned unto Goa; without doing any other thing.

The same army sailing to the coast of Abex, and falling on the island of Zanzibar (which lieth 6° S. about seventy miles from Pate towards Mozambique, about eighteen miles from the firm land), they found there the *San Salvador* [*p.* 39] that came from Cochin, sailing towards Portugal: which was all open, having thrown all her goods overboard, saving only some pepper which they could not come at; and was in great danger, holding themselves, by force of pumping, above the water. They were upon the point to leave, being all weary and ready to sink: which they certainly had done, if, by great good fortune, they had not met with the army; which they little thought to find in those parts.

The army took the ship with them to Ormus, where the rest of the pepper and goods remaining in her were unladen, and the ship broken in pieces: and of the boards, they made a lesser ship, wherein the men that were in the great ship, with the rest of the goods that were saved in her, sailed to Portugal: and, after a long and wearisome voyage [*p.* 82], arrived there in safety.

The 17th of September, 1587, a galliot of Mozambique arrived at Goa, bringing news of the arrival of four ships in Mozambique, that came out of Portugal. Their names were the *Sant Antonio*, *Sant Francisco*, *Nostra Señora da Nazareth*, and the *Sant Alberto*: but of the *Santa Maria* that came in company with them from Portugal, they had no news. Afterwards they heard, that she put back again to Portugal, by reason of some defaults in her, and of the foul weather.

Eight days after [*25th of September*], the said four ships arrived in Goa, where they were received with great joy.

At the same time, the fort called Colombo, which the Portuguese hold in the island of Ceylon, was besieged by the King of Ceylon, called Raju [? *Rajah*] and in great danger of being lost: to deliver which, there was an army of foists and galleys sent from Goa; whereof BERNARDINE DE CARVALHO was General.

And at the same time, departed another army of many ships, foists, and galleys, with a great number of soldiers, munition, victuals, and other warlike provisions; wherewith to deliver Malacca: which as then was besieged and in great misery, as I said before. The General thereof was Don PAULO DE LIMA PEREIRA, a valiant gentleman, who, not long before, had been Captain of Chaul; and being very fortunate in all his enterprises, was therefore chosen to be General of that fleet.

The last of November, the four ships aforesaid, departed from Goa; to lade at Cochin, and from thence to sail to Portugal.

The December after, while the fort of Colombo, in the island of Ceylon, was still besieged; the town of Goa made out another great fleet of ships and galleys: for the which they took up many men within the city, and compelled them to go in the ships, because they wanted men; with a great contribution of money raised upon the merchants and other inhabitants, to furnish the same. Of which army was appointed General, MANUEL DE SOUSA COUTINHO, a brave gentleman and soldier, who, in times past, had been Captain of the said fort of Colombo, and had withstood a former besieging: whereupon the King put him in great credit, and advanced him much; and, after the Viceroy's death, he was Viceroy of [Portuguese] India, as in time and place we shall declare [*p.* 50].

He arrived, with his army, in the isle of Ceylon, where he joined with the other army that went before; and placed themselves in order to give battle to RAGIU: who, perceiving the great number of his enemies, brake up his siege, and forsook the fort, to the great rejoicing of the Portuguese. Having strengthened the fort with men and victuals, they returned again to Goa; where, in the month of March, *anno* 1588, they were received with great joy.

In the month of April, the same year [1588], the army of

Don PAULO DE LIMA PEREIRA that went to Malacca, arrived in Goa with victory: having freed Malacca, and opened the passage again to China and other places.

The manner whereof was thus. In their way, as they passed the Straits of Malacca, they met with a ship belonging to the King of Achen [*Achin*] in Sumatra; who was a deadly enemy to the Portuguese, and the principal cause of the besieging of Malacca.

In the same ship was the daughter of the said King of Achen; which he sent to be married to the King of Jor, thereby to make a new alliance with him against the Portuguese: and, for a present, he also sent him a goodly piece of ordnance, whereof the like was not to be found in all India. Therefore it was, afterwards, sent to Portugal as a present to the King of Spain, in a ship of Malacca; which, after, was cast away in the island of Terceira, one of the Flemish Isles [*Azores*, *see pp.* 97-101]: where the same piece, with much labour, was weighed up, and laid within the fortress of the same isle; because it is so heavy that it can hardly be carried into Portugal.

But to the matter. They took the ship with the King's daughter, and made it all good prize. By it, they were advertised what had passed between the Kings of Achen and Jor: so that presently [*at once*] they sent certain soldiers on land, and marching in order of battle, they set upon the town of Jor, that was sconced [*pallisadoed*] and compassed about with wooden stakes, most of the houses being of straw. Which, when the people of the town perceived, and saw the great number of men, and also their resolution, they were in great fear; and, as many as could, fled, and saved themselves in the country.

To conclude. The Portuguese entered the town and set it on fire, utterly spoiling and destroying it, razing it even with the ground, slaying all they found; but taking some prisoners, whom they led away captives. They found within the town, at the least, 2,500 brass pieces, great and small, which were all brought into India [*i.e.*, *Goa*]. You must understand that some of them were no greater than muskets; some greater; and some very great, being very cunningly wrought with figures and flowers, which the Italians and Portuguese that have denied [*renounced*] their faith, and

become Mahometists have taught them: whereof there are many in India, and are those indeed that do most hurt. When they have done any murder or other villany; fearing to be punished for the same, to save their lives, they run over by the firm land among the heathens and Moors: and there they have great stipends and wages of the Indian kings and captains of the land.

Seven or eight years before my coming into India [*i.e.*, 1575 *or* 1576], there were in Goa, certain Trumpeters and Cannoneers, being Dutchmen and Netherlanders; and because they were rejected and scorned by the Portuguese in India (as they scorn all other nations in the world); as also because they could get no pay; and when they asked for it, they were presently abused and cast into the galleys, and there compelled to serve: in the end, they took counsel together, and seeing they could not get out of the country, they secretly got unto the firm [*main*] land of Balagate and went unto Hildalcan [? *the Deccan*]; where they were gladly received, and very well entertained with great pay, living like Lords. And there, being in despair, denied [*renounced*] their faith; although it is thought by some, that they remain still in their own religion: but it is most sure that they are married there, in those countries, with heathen women; and were living when I came from thence.

By this means are the Portuguese the cause of their own mischief, only through their pride and hardiness; and make rods to scourge themselves withal: which I have only showed in respect to those cast pieces and other martial weapons, which the Indians have learnt of the Portuguese and Christians; whereof in times past, they had no understanding. And although they [of Jor] had placed all those pieces in very good order; yet it should seem they knew not how to shoot them off or to use them as they should: as it appeared hereby, for that they presently forsook them, and left them for the Portuguese.

With this victory, the Portuguese were very proud; and, with great glory, entered into Malacca: wherein they were received with great triumph: as it may well be thought, being delivered by them from great misery wherein they had long continued. Which the King of Achen hearing, and that his daughter was taken prisoner, he sent his Ambassador to

Don PAULO DE LIMA PEREIRA, with great presents, desiring to make peace with him: which was presently granted, and all the ways to Malacca were opened, and all kinds of merchandise and victuals brought thither, which before had been kept from them; whereat was much rejoicing.

This done, and order being taken for all things in Malacca; they returned again to Goa: where they arrived in safety (as I said before) in the month of April [1588]; and there, were received with great triumph; the people singing *Te DEUM laudamus*; and many of the soldiers bringing good prizes with them.

In the month of May [1588] following, upon the 15th of the same month, the Viceroy Don DUARTE DE MENESES died in Goa; having been sick but four days, of a burning fever, which is the common sickness of India, and is very dangerous: but it is thought it was for grief, because he had received letters from the Captain of Ormus, wherein he was advertised that they had received news, over land, from Venice, that the Archbishop was safely arrived at Lisbon, and well received by the King; and because they were not friends at his departure (as I said before), they said, "He was so much grieved thereat, that fearing to fall into the displeasure of the King, by information from the Bishop, he died of grief."

But that was contrary [to the facts] as, hereafter, by the ships, we understood; for the Bishop died in the ship [*on the 4th August* 1587], eight days before it arrived in Portugal. So they kept company together; for they lived not long one after the other, whereby their quarrel was ended with their lives.

The Viceroy's funerals were observed, with great solemnity, in this manner.

The place appointed for the Viceroys' burial is a Cloister called *Reis Magos* or "The Three Kings of Cologne," being of the Order of Saint Francis, which standeth in the land of Bardes, at the mouth of the river of Goa.

Thither was his body conveyed, being sent in the Royal Galley, all hanged over with black pennons, and covered with black cloth; and accompanied with all the nobility and gentlemen of the country.

Approaching near the Cloister of *Reis Magos*, being three

miles from Goa down the river towards the sea; the friars came out to receive him, and brought his body into the church, where they placed it upon a hearse; and so, with great solemnity, sang *Mass*.

Which done, there were certain letters, called *Vias*, brought forth; which are always sealed, and, by the King's appointment, kept by the Jesuits: and are never opened, but in the absence or at the death of the Viceroy.

These *Vias* are sent yearly by the King, and are marked with the figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and so forth. When there wanteth a Viceroy, then the first number or *Via* is opened; wherein is written, that in the absence or after the death of the Viceroy, such a man shall be Viceroy. If the man that is named in the first *Via* be not there; then they open the second *Via*, and look whose name is therein; being in place, he is presently [*immediately*] received and obeyed as Governor. If he be likewise absent; they open the rest, orderly, as they are numbered, until the Governor be found: which, being known, they need open no more. The rest of the *Vias* that are remaining are presently shut up, and kept in the cloister of the Jesuits: but before the *Vias* are opened, there is no man that knoweth who it shall be, or whose name is written therein.

These *Vias* are opened, with great solemnity, by the Jesuits, and read in open audience, before all the nobles, Captains, Governors, and others that are present. If the man that is named in the *Vias*, be in any place of India or the East countries, as Soffala, Mozambique, Ormus, Malacca, or any other place of those countries, as sometimes it happeneth; he is presently sent for: and must leave all other offices, to receive that place, until the King sendeth another out of Portugal. But if the man named in the *Vias* be in Portugal, China, or Japan, or the Cape of Good Hope; then, they open other *Vias*, as I said before.

The *Mass* being finished, the Jesuits came with the King's packets of *Vias*, which are sealed with the King's own signet, and are always opened before the other Viceroy's body is laid in the earth. And there, they opened the first *Via*, and, with great devotion, staying to know who it should be; at the last, was named for Viceroy, one MATTHIAS D'ALBUQUERQUE, that had been Captain of Ormus, and, the year before [*i.e.*,

January 1587, *see* vol. i. *pp.* 312, 325; vol. ii. *p.* 37], had gone, in company with the Archbishop, to Portugal, because he had broken one of his legs, thinking to heal it: but if he had known as much, he would have stayed in India. [*He was appointed Viceroy in* 1590, *see pp.* 114-5].

He, being absent, the second *Via* was opened, with the like solemnity, and herein they found named for Viceroy, MANUEL DE SOUSA COUTINHO (of whom I made mention before, [*p.* 45] and who was the man that raised the siege in the island of Ceylon), to the great admiration [*wonderment*] of every man: because he was but a mean [*poor*] gentleman; yet very well esteemed, as he had well deserved by his long service.

Although there were many rich gentlemen in that place, whom they thought rather should have been preferred thereto: yet they must content themselves, and show no dislike. Thereupon they presently saluted him kissing his hand, and honoured him as Viceroy.

Presently, they left the dead body of the old Viceroy, and departed in the galley, with the new Viceroy; taking away all the mourning cloths and standards, and covering it with others of divers colours and silks.

And so entered into Goa, sounding both shalms and trumpets; wherein he was received with great triumph, and led to the great Church, where they sang *Te DEUM laudamus*, &c., and there gave him his oath to hold and observe all privileges and customs, according to the order in that case provided.

From thence, they led him to the Viceroy's Palace, which was presently all unfurnished by the dead Viceroy's servants; and furnished again by the new Viceroy, as the manner is, in all such changes and alterations.

The body of the dead Viceroy being left in the Church, was buried by his servants, without any more memory of him; saving only touching his own particular affairs.

In the months of June, July, and August of the same year, *anno* 1588, there happened the greatest winter that had, of long time, been seen in those countries. Although it raineth every winter, never holding up, all the winter long; but not in such quantity and abundance as it did in those three months, for it rained continually and in so great abundance,

from the 10th of June till the 1st of September, that it could not be judged that it ever held up from raining, one half hour together, either night or day; whereby many houses, by reason of the great moisture, fell down to the ground; as also because the stone wherewith they are built is very soft, and the greater part of their mortar is more than half earth.

The 16th of September 1588, there arrived in Goa, a ship of Portugal, called the *San Thomas*, bringing news of four ships that were in Mozambique, all come from Portugal: which, not long after, came likewise to Goa. Their names were *San Christopher*, being admiral; *Santa Maria*, *Sant Antonio*, and *Nostra Señora de Consepcao*.

By these ships, we received news of the death of my Lord the Archbishop, Don Frey VINCENTE DA FONSECA, who died in his voyage to Portugal, upon the 4th day of August, *anno* 1587, between the Flemish Isles [*Azores*] and Portugal; eight days before the ship came to land.

It was thought that he died of some poison that he brought [in himself] out of India, or else of some impostume that suddenly brake within him. For an hour before his death, he seemed to be as well as ever he was in all his life: and suddenly he was taken so sick that he had not the leisure to make his will, but died presently: and voided at the least a quart of poison out of his body.

To be short. He was clothed in his Bishop's apparel, with his mitre on his head, and rings upon his fingers, and put into a coffin: and so thrown into the sea.

Jan Huyghen van Linschoten.

Return Voyage from Goa to Enkhuisen.

1588-1592 A.D.

His news [*i.e., of the death of his master, the Archbishop of the Indies, on the 4th of August* 1587, *which reached Goa in September* 1588, *see p.* 51] made many sorrowful hearts in India of such as were his well-willers and friends: and, to the contrary, such as hated him were glad and rejoiced; because he had been earnest to reprehend and correct them for their faults. But none lost more by it than we, that were his servants, who looked for great preferment by him; as without doubt he meant to have obtained it of the King, as being one of the principal occasions of his going into Portugal: but death altered all.

And although, at that time, my meaning and intent was to stay the coming [back] of my Lord Archbishop; and to continue longer there, yea, possibly, while I lived: yet, upon this news, I was wholly altered in my purpose; and a horrible fear came upon me, when I called to mind what I had passed, touching the things I was desirous to bring to pass. And although I had means enough there, to get my living in good sort; being, as it were, one of those countrymen, and so, in all places well esteemed and accounted of: yet those persuasions were not of force enough, once to dissuade me from the pretence and desire I had to see my native country. So that it seemed, my GOD had opened mine eyes; and, by my Lord's

death, made me more clear of sight, and to call my native soil unto remembrance: which, before, was so darkened that I had almost forgotten it; and stood in hazard never to see it any more, if my Lord had lived, and returned home again [to Goa].

But to avoid all occasions and inconveniences that might happen, and daily offered themselves to me, I resolutely determined to depart: whereunto I sought all the means and necessary occasions I could find, to bring it to pass. And that which persuaded me most thereunto, was the loss of my brother, WILLIAM TIN, that had been with me in India [*pp.* 2, 7]: who, sailing from Setubal, in Portugal, towards Hamburg, taking his course on the back side of England [*i.e.*, *round Ireland and Scotland*], was cast away; and neither ship nor men could ever be heard of.

Being in this resolution, it chanced that a ship, by authority of the Viceroy, and at the request of the Farmers of Pepper, was appointed to sail for Portugal; because there was so great a quantity of pepper to be laden, that the Portuguese ships [*i.e.*, *the Fleet of Carracks*], at that time, could not take it in. Although the ships are purposely sent to lade pepper, with licence from the King, that there may no more but five ships lade every year; whereunto, the Factors do bind themselves: yet if there be any goods in India, as pepper and other wares, which these ships cannot take in; then the Farmers of Pepper and the King's Officers may buy one or two ships, and make them ready for the purpose to take it in, so that the ships be found that be sufficient. Which if the Factors refuse, then the Viceroy and the King's Officers may freight as many ships as they think good, and as they find fit to take it in; and lade them with the Farmers' pepper or any other goods that are there to be laden: so it be after the five ships are laden by the Farmers. And all this, for the profit of the King, without let or hindrance of the said Farmers.

In this sort, as I said before, there was a ship, called the *Santa Cruz*, that was built in Cochin by the King of the Malabars (and called after the name of the town of *Cochin*, that was likewise, by the Portuguese, called *Santa Cruz*), which the King of the Malabars made in honour of the Portuguese, because he hath brotherly alliance with them,

and is called "Our Brother in arms" by the King of Portugal.

The same ship, being of 1,600 tons, he had sold to a Portuguese, that therewith had made a voyage into China and Japan; and because it was strong and good, and so, fit to make a voyage to Portugal; and because (as I said before) there was more pepper than the Portuguese ships could take in: the Farmers of Pepper were desirous to buy it, and besought the Viceroy to let them have it; according to the contents of their composition [*contract*] and the King's Ordinance.

Whereupon, the Viceroy caused the Farmers of the Ships to be called together, and signified unto them what the request of the Farmers of Pepper was, that is to say, that the ship should be bought, according to the King's Ordinance, forasmuch as necessity did so require it, and they had refused to use it, saying that "it was not fit for them": and so desired, in respect of the King's interest in the pepper, the ship might be bought accordingly; always provided, that the King's Ordinance, who granted them their Privilege, might be kept and observed, viz., that their ships might first have their lading, and be first despatched.

And although they that had bought it of the owners, for 10,000 ducats [=£2,660 13*s.* 4*d.* *then* = *about* £16,000 *now*] ready money, were in doubt that they should find wares enough to lade it withal: yet, in the end, it was, in a manner, laden as well as the other ships were.

Now it was agreed by the owners that sold it, that the Master Gunner and Chief Boatswain should keep their places still within the ship; as they had, when it sailed to China and Japan. The Gunner's name was DERICK GARRITSON, of Enkhuisen; who, after he had been twenty years in India, was minded, as then, to sail in that ship for Portugal: with whom, because of old acquaintance and for his company, I minded to see if I could get any place within the ship.

And because the Farmers of Pepper had their Factors in India, that were Dutchmen; which lay there in the behalf of the Foukers and Velsares of Augsburg; who, at that time, had a part of the pepper laden in that ship, and use to send in each ship a Factor, to whom the King alloweth a cabin and victuals for the voyage: this place of Factor in the said ship

called the *Santa Cruz*, I did obtain of the Farmers; because they were of my acquaintance.

Whereupon I prepared myself to depart, and got a passport of the Viceroy (without which no man may pass out of India); and also a certificate out of the King's Chamber of Accounts, and out of the *Matricola General*; wherein all such as come into India are registered, with a note of my pay, which, by the King's commandment, is appointed to be paid upon certificate from thence; and withal the time of my residence in India and what place I was employed in there: that when I came to Portugal, I might have recompense if I would ask it, or [could go back, if I] minded to return again into India.

But, although I had no such intent; yet must I, of force, observe this order, to make them think that I would return again, and the easier to obtain my passport: which was easily granted me by the Governor, as also the other certificates.

Having obtained them, I took my leave of all my friends and acquaintance, not without great grief: as he that was to depart out of his second natural dwelling-place, by reason of the great and long continuance I had made in those countries; so that I was, in a manner, half dissuaded from my pretended voyage. But, in the end, the remembrance and affection of my true natural country got the upper hand, and overruled me; making me wholly to forget my conceit unto the contrary: and so, committing myself and my affairs unto GOD (who only can direct and help us, and give good success to all endeavours), I entered into my new pretended course.

In the month of November, 1588, the ships sailed again from Goa, to the coast of Malabar and Cochin to take in their lading.

And the 23rd of the same month, the *Santa Cruz* set sail; to begin our voyage.

The 28th day, we arrived at Honor [*Honawur*], a fort belonging to the Portuguese, and the first they have upon the coast of Malabar. It lieth southward from Goa, eighteen miles. In which place, we were assigned to take in our lading of pepper.

They used not, before, to lade any pepper in that place; so that we were the first that ever laded there; but from hence-

forward they minded, yearly, to lade one ship there. For the Queen of Batticola, that lays not far from thence, and Honor, which is within her jurisdiction or kingdom, had bound herself to deliver, yearly, 7,000 or 8,000 Quintals [= *about* 1,000,000 *English lbs.*] of pepper; so that the Farmers paid her half the money for the same, six months before she delivered it; and then she would deliver it at times [*by instalments*]. For the which cause, the owners have their Factor at Honor, to receive it of her, by weight; and to lay it up till the time of lading cometh.

The like have they in all the other forts upon the coast of Malabar, as at Mangalore, Barselor, Cananor, Cochin, Coulan [*Quilon*], &c.

The Farming of the Pepper; and, also, of the Carracks that bring it to Portugal.

NOw to know the right manner of Farming of the Pepper, you must understand,

That the Farmers take the same to farm for five years, and bind themselves to send every year their stock of ready money [*i.e., about* 260,000 *Pieces of Eight, at* 436 *Reis* (= 69·76*d.*) *each* = *about* £75,000 *then* = *about* £450,000 *now*], for 30,000 Quintals of pepper; so that the King will send ships to lade it in. The King, on the other side, bindeth himself to perform, and to send, every year, five ships, the Farmers bearing the adventure [*risk*] of the sea, both of their money sending thither, and of the pepper brought from thence; and must lade it, in India, into the ships, at their own costs and charges. Which being brought to Portugal, they deliver up the pepper to the King, at the price of 12 ducats the Quintal [*i.e.,* £3 4*s. the Quintal of* 128 *lbs.; or Sixpence the lb. then*=*Three Shillings now*]: and if any be cast away or taken upon the sea, it is at the Farmers' charge; for the King dealeth only but with that which is delivered to him in Portugal, being dry and fair, lade up in the King's Storehouse in Lisbon. For the which, he payeth

not any money unto the Farmers until the said pepper be sold; with the money whereof he payeth them.

So that the King, without any hazard or disbursing anything of his own, hath always his money for his pepper; without the loss of any one penny.

And in respect of that, the Farmers have great and strong privileges. First, that no man, of what estate or condition soever he be, either Portuguese or of any place in India, may deal or trade in pepper but they, upon pain of death: which is very sharply looked unto. Likewise, they may not, for any occasion or necessity whatsoever, diminish or lessen the ordinary stock of money [*i.e.*, *the* 260,000 *Reals of Eight*], neither hinder nor let them, in any sort, concerning the lading thereof: which is also very strictly observed. For, although the pepper were for the King's own person, yet must the Farmers' pepper be first laden: to whom, the Viceroy and other Officers and Captains of India must give all assistance, help, and favour, with watching the same, and all other things; whatsoever shall be required by the said Farmers, for the safety and benefit of the said pepper.

For the lading and providing whereof, the said Farmers are to send their Factors, servants, and assistants, of what nation soever they be (except Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Spaniards), unto every place, to see it ladened and despatched away. For other strangers may not go to India; without the special licence of the King or of his Council for India.

The pepper commonly costeth in India 28 Pagodas the Bhar. Every Bhar is 3½ Portuguese Quintals. So that every Quintal standeth them in 12 Pardaos Xeraphines and 4 Tangas [*see* vol. i. *p.* 320]:

(Every Quintal is 128 [English] pounds; and every Pardao is 3 Testons or 30 Stivers, heavy money: and every Tanga is 60 Reis or 6 Stivers),

Which is 12 Dollars (of 60 Pence Flemish the piece) after the rate of the Portuguese money, and 24 Stivers of the like money: besides all charges, and adventure of the sea. But the great quantity making them gain the more, especially if it come safe home.

[By equivalent values of the coins, at *p.* 320 of vol. i., the *Pagoda* was then equal to 76·8*d.* We may therefore represent the statement in the text thus.

English lbs.		*Quintal.*		*Bhar.*			*£*	*s.*	*d.*	
128	=	1				@ 8 Pagodas, the *Quintal* =	2	11	2	$4\frac{3}{4}$*d.* the English lb. then = *about* 2*s.* $4\frac{1}{2}$*d. now.*
448	=	$3\frac{1}{2}$	=	1		@ 28 Pagodas, the *Bhar* =	8	19	1	

or its equivalent, viz.,

As the Pepper was sold to the King at Sixpence the English lb. for which the Farmers paid $4\frac{3}{4}$*d.*, their outside profit would be about 30 per cent. on an invested capital in pepper alone of about £75,000 then [=£450,000 *now*]. From which, vast deductions should be made, for peculations, losses, &c.: which were, no doubt, partially compensated for, by the Farmers robbing the King as well as they could. So that it was thievery from beginning to end.

The Farmers also brought home many other things than pepper, such as cinnamon, spices, fancy ware; on which, no doubt, there was a vast profit.

It is clear from this arrangement, that when the English took Portuguese Carracks, it was not King PHILIP II. who was the first sufferer; but the Speculators, both of the Ships, and their Cargoes; who might be of many countries, as of Augsburg, *p* 55.

It is interesting to trace the rise in the price of these Eastern commodities, in their progress to the consumer. The wholesale English price of the pepper captured by the Earl of CUMBERLAND's fleet on the 13th July 1589, was estimated at Two Shillings [=12*s. now*] the English lb.: see *p.* 187 of vol. ii. The King's profits thereon must therefore have been enormous.]

The ships and their freighting, with conditions to build them and the provision of all necessaries for them, are also farmed by themselves: and all, at the adventure of the Farmers [of the Carracks]. If the ship come safe home, they give the King a certain sum of money for every ship; and every year furnish five ships, likewise at their own charges: but such soldiers as are appointed to go in them, are bound to sail for the King; and have only meat and drink at the Farmers' charges. The officers and sailors are placed therein, by the King's Admiralty: which the Farmers may not once deny or refuse.

So that the King adventureth nothing, neither in pepper nor in ships: but only if the ships be cast away he loseth the money that he should have had for the Farm of every ship, if it had returned safe; and the Gain of the pepper, that should have been delivered him at a certain price.

Whereupon the Admiralty of Portugal are now waxen very careless to see them well conveyed, as they used to be during the times of the Kings of Portugal; when all the pepper came for the King's own account.

And although the King hath promised continually to send his Navy by sea as far as the Flemish Islands [*Azores*]; there to stay for the coming of the Indian ships, and from thence

to convey them to Lisbon: yet since they were farmed out, there are few fleets sent forth; so that they are but little thought upon. But howsoever it is; in the payment of the Fee Farm for pepper, the King will not lose a penny of his due, nor once abate them anything.

Shipping the pepper in the Carracks.

THE 6th of December, we had taken in our lading of pepper, which was 6,700 Quintals [=*about* 380 *English tons*] of the best that is in all Malabar; and were very full.

The same day, we set sail from thence, keeping close under the coast: because that ordinarily in that country, every day, from twelve o'clock of the night till twelve at noon, there bloweth an Easterly wind, which cometh out of the land; and then cometh a West wind out of the sea, to the landward. With these two winds, we [here] perform our voyage. But the East wind is always mightier and stronger than the West, and therefore the ships keep themselves close under the shore: for when they put further in the sea, they can hardly get at the coast again; because the West wind is not of so great force. As it chanced unto us, for having put somewhat from the coast; we had much to do before we could get to the coast again: by which means, oftentimes, they lose their voyage to Portugal, as by experience it hath been found.

All the coast of Malabar is very pleasant to behold, for they sail so close to it, that a man may tell every hill, valley, and tree that is therein; being a very green and fair land.

The 11th of December, we came to Cananor, another fortress of the Portuguese. There we lay a day and a half, to take in certain masts, with other provisions that we were to use; which are there in great abundance.

So we set sail again, keeping along the coast, and passed by Calicut, Panane, and certain other places, until the 24th of December, when we arrived at Cochin: where we lay till the 20th of January, *anno* 1589.

In the meantime, our ship was provided of all things necessary; and then we stayed, till our turn came to set sail:

because the other ships, according to the contract, were to set sail before us, one after another. Which custom, I will here partly set down in brief.

You shall understand that as soon as the ship hath taken in her lading of pepper; which is done with great care and diligent watch, as well in the King's behalf as of the Farmers'; and is laden on the two nether orlops, that is, upon the ballast, and in the orlop next over it: laying deal boards upon the ballast, and making certain places and divisions for the purpose, with a hole over each place to shut in the pepper; and leaving room by the mainmast to pass by it. So that there are, at the least, thirty several places, which they call *payoos*; and all in the two lower orlops, as I said before: which, being all filled with pepper, they shut the holes of those places very close with oakum and pitch; and so they are marked with numbers, how many they are, and upon each place its weight of pepper.

These two orlops, being thus laden, there is left a place about the mainmast to bestow water, wine, wood; and other necessaries for the ship, which are daily used.

In the third orlop, and, on both sides thereof, there are divers places severally made, that belong to the Officers of the ship, as the Captain, Master, Pilot, Factor, Purser, &c.; and of all the rest of the sailors that are allowed places: which they sell or let out unto the Merchants to lade goods therein; whereof they make good profit. Upon the same orlop, from the mast to the stern, are the places where they put their powder, biscuit, sails, cloths, and other provisions for the ship.

The other orlops above these, are laden by the merchants with all sorts of wares; which are in chests, fats, balls, and packs; and are placed in this sort, that is to say,

As soon as the pepper is laden, there are presently sent into the ship two Waiters, and one that stoweth the goods, as a Porter; on the King's behalf. He hath ten or twelve porters under him that only must lade and stow the goods in the ship: the Master, nor any other, not once, having anything to do with it; saving only the Chief Boatswain, who is to look unto it, and yet commandeth nothing.

No goods may be laden whatsoever or how small soever they be, but they must be registered in the King's books; and they must bring a billet [*invoice*] from the *Veador da*

Fasenda, that is to say, the "Surveyor of the business," being Chief Officer for the King: wherein must be certified every kind of ware, by piecemeal, which they lade; together with the name of the ship wherein it is to be laden. For without that certificate, the Stowers and Porters will not take it in; and, although you have your billet, yet must you bribe the Waiters, before you can get it aboard the ship: and something must be given likewise to the Porters, besides their duties, if you desire to stow your goods well, otherwise they will let it stand. And he that giveth most hath the best place in the ship. Yea, and they stow the ship so miserably full, that there is not a hole or an empty place to be found, but it is full stuffed: and all for their profit. It is oftentimes seen, that the Chief Porter, that doth only command and look over the rest, getteth for his part, in bribes, for stowage of a ship, sometimes 700 or 800 ducats [=£190 *to* £215 *then*=*about* £1,100 *to* £1,300 *now*], and the Waiters as much; and this only by gifts.

These offices are given by favour of the Viceroy, and the *Veador de Fasenda*: which is the cause that the ships are oftentimes laden so full that they are in a manner ready to sink; so that a man would think it were impossible for them, either to row or stir. Because the Officers and sailors of the ships have nothing to do therewith, until the last hour that it setteth sail, and then it is delivered into their hands; and the Waiters and Porters go their ways, leaving the ships full in every place, even to the uppermost orlop: where there standeth commonly seven or eight chests, one above the other, both in the stern and foreship, upon the cables, in the forecastle, in the stirrige [*steerage*] and in every place, which are all full of great pots, fats, chests, hens' cages, and such like; so that it seemeth rather a Labyrinth or a Maze than a ship.

So they commit themselves to the grace of GOD, and set sail: and oftentimes it falleth out, as it did in our ship, that of fifty sailors which are above the ship, not above ten of them could tell how to steer, or to handle the rudder: and besides that, most of them were never at sea before, but get their places by favour as all the rest do; so that, being at sea, when occasion serveth, they stand looking one upon another, doing nothing, but cry, *Misericordia!* and, "Our Lady! help us!"

In Cochin, there are a great number of boats called *Tones*

that are cut out of one piece of wood; and yet, some of them are so great that a man may lade twenty pipes of water in them. These they carry aboard the ships, that lie at least a mile within the sea, and there they make price with them for a small sum of money; and then they go and fill the pipes themselves, with pots which they have for the purpose: and it is a great commodity to them. This water is brought out of the river of Cochin, called Mangate, and it is very good.

Cochin to Saint Helena.

AND now I will show unto you the manner that is used in the ships, when they sail home again: which, in part, I have already touched; as also of our departure and voyage from India to Lisbon.

1589.

The 1st January 1589 [*N.S.*], the *Santa Maria* set sail; and because it was one of the oldest ships, it was first despatched away; by reason that the sooner they depart from Cochin, they come in better time to the Cape of Good Hope: and the later they come thither, the more storms and foul weather they have, because as then the sun goeth further into the north and leaveth the south parts. Therefore commonly they let the best and strongest ships go last; because they are best able to hold out: and they stay the one for the other in the island of Saint Helena, until the 25th day of May, and no longer, which is the time appointed by the King; and so go, in company together, to Portugal. For from India unto the island of Saint Helena they need not keep company; because all that way they fear no rovers: and to that island, they have all their cannon shot pulled in [? *guns run in*], the better to pass the foul weather at the Cape of Good Hope.

The 6th of January, the ship, called *Nostra Señora de Consepcao* set sail.

The 10th of the same, the admiral [*flag ship*], called *San Christopher*.

The 12th, the *Sant Antonio*.

The 15th, the *San Thomas*, which was the greatest and best ship in all the fleet; and the richest of lading.

And the 20th of the same month, we set sail in our ship, called the *Santa Cruz*, being the last: wherein were about 200 men of all sorts; as sailors, soldiers, and slaves.

For from India there go but few soldiers, without the Viceroy's passport; by virtue thereof they go to present their services, and to fetch their pays and duties for the same. And this they do, after they have served in India some years; and also when they have ability to pass over: for when they are poor, and have no help, they must stay in India; even for necessity's sake, because they have no means to procure their passage. So that many of them are constrained to tarry there, and to marry Moors and Indian women, the better to maintain themselves; although it be with misery enough. For the charges of a man's voyage out of India is, at the least, 200 or 300 Pardaos (=£40 *to* £60 *then*=£240 *to* £360 *now*), and that only for meat and drink; which a poor soldier can hardly compass, unless he can procure some gentleman, Captain, or wealthy man in office to be favourable unto him, in helping him to perform his journey.

For in the voyages homeward, the King giveth nothing to each of the soldiers and passengers, but a free passage for himself and a chest of four spans high and broad, and seven spans in length; and that, after they have been three years in India. For that chest, they pay neither freight nor custom. They have likewise a chest in the roomage [*hold*] free of freight, for which they pay custom; and this they may sell to any merchant, as they commonly do, and is worth unto them, at the least, 40 or 50 Pardaos [=£10 *to* £12 10*s.* *then* =£60 *or* £75 *now*]. These places they call "Liberties," and he that buyeth them registereth them in the name of him that he buyeth them of; to the end, that in Portugal, they may enjoy the same liberty and privilege.

All the sailors and Officers of the ships, that sail in them from Portugal, have likewise, besides their places in the ships, the forage of such a chest allowed them, free of custom and freight.

All these things are very sharply looked into. For although the ships and goods are farmed; yet when they arrive at Lisbon, all the chests are brought into the Indian House, and there visited [*searched*], to see if any goods be in them that

are forbidden to be brought out of India, as pepper, anill [*cochineal*], or indigo, and other such wares as are farmed of the King, and, if any be found, it is presently forfeited: and all the wares that are in such chests are likewise valued; so that if they amount to more than the value of 1,000 Milreis [=£666 13*s.* 4*d.* *then*=£4,000 *now*], they must pay custom for the over plus: which, in the time of the Kings of Portugal, was not used. For then, they were accustomed to carry their chests home, and to show them only to the Waiters: and although the poor sailors and Officers do much complain for the loss and breaking of their "liberties"; yet can they not be heard.

Thus there come but few soldiers out of India, for the causes aforesaid. For I certainly believe that of the 1,500 soldiers and more, that, yearly, are sent thither out of Portugal; there returneth not a 100 again. Some dying there in the country, others being cast away, and slain by divers occasions: and the rest, by poverty, not able to return again, and so, against their wills, are forced to stay in the country. If any of them do chance to come [back], it is with some Viceroy, Captain, or other gentleman, or person that hath borne office or authority. And when such men come over [to Portugal], they always bring some soldiers with them, to whom they give meat and drink; and yet, are such as are of their acquaintance, and that had been long before at their commandment: which they do, for the most part, upon a certain pride and vain glory.

And, in this sort, there may, yearly, come 20 or 30 soldiers over, in each ship, which have their slaves and Blacke Mores with them; so that they come clean and sweet home, both for linen and other things. Because linen is very good cheap in India: and the ships, when they return home, are cleaner than when they set out of Portugal; as they have fewer men in them, and such as come out of India bring all their necessaries with them. Besides, the ship is very sweet, by reason of the spice with that is laden in it.

The partition of the ship is in this manner.

The Pilot hath his cabin above in the hinder part of the ship, on the right side, where he hath two or three rooms;

and never cometh under [the] hatches, nor down into the foreship: but standeth only, and commandeth the Master of the ship to hoist or let fall the sails; and to look unto his course, how they shall steer; to take the height of the sun; and every day, to write and mark what passeth, how they sail, and with what tokens, wind, and weather.

The Master hath his cabins in the same place, behind the Pilot's cabins, on the left hand; with as many places and rooms as the Pilot hath: where he standeth, and commandeth with a silver whistle, and looketh only to the main mast and her sails; and so backwards [*i.e., all masts and rigging astern of it*]: yet he hath the care of all the ship and whatsoever belongeth to it; and commandeth all things, as to make and mend the sails, which he cutteth out and the sailors sew them. He looketh also if there be any fault in the ship, and causeth it to be mended: and, as need requireth, to draw their cannon in, and again to put it out.

If he wanteth anything, as cloth for sails, nails, ropes, or any such like things, as are needful; he must have them of the Factor and Purser of the ship; which presently are delivered unto him, with a note, of his hand[writing] in the book, to be accountable for it.

The Chief Boatswain hath his cabin in the Forecastle [*i.e., the Castle in the front part of the Carrack, rising in three short decks above the main deck in the centre of the ship*]; and hath commandment and government over the Fouke mast [*Foremast*] and the fore sails. He hath also a silver whistle, like the Master; and taketh care for all things belonging to the Fouke mast, and for the fast binding of the anchors.

The Guardian or Quartermaster hath his cabin close by the great mast outward on the left hand; for on the right hand, standeth the scullery and kitchen, where they dress their meat. He weareth a silver whistle, and hath charge to see the swabers pump, to make the ship clean; to look to the ropes, and cause them to be mended; and to the boat, which he commonly ruleth.

The Gunner hath his cabin inward from the mast, hard by the rudder, under the first orlop: and must always sit by the main mast, looking upon the Master, both night and day; that, as the Master whistleth to will the gunners to draw in their pieces or to thrust them out, he may be ready so to do.

He likewise taketh care for the pieces, and the things belonging to them; when they have cause to use them.

The Under Pilot doth nothing, but help the Chief Pilot, and watch his quarter. They have likewise two or three of the best sailors, that do nothing else but command in the Pilot's room, when he sleepeth.

The sailors have most of their cabins in the forecastle and thereabouts: and the gunners behind, by the Master Gunner, under the upper deck; and do nothing else but, with their instruments [*implements*], put the great pieces forth or draw them in, as they are commanded.

The Swabers must do all whatsoever they are bidden to do by the Officers, but never touch the rudder. For the sailors do only steer and rule the ship when need requireth, but not the pump. Neither do they hoist up the main sail: for the soldiers and slaves use to do that. The swabers pump.

The Carpenter doth such work as is to be done. The Cooper, in like sort: and also the Caulker. So that if the ship were sinking, not any of them will do more than belongeth to his charge: and what is further to be done, they will stand still, and look upon it.

The Captain hath the Gallery, and the cabin behind. He commandeth only over the soldiers, and such as watch by night.

The Pilot, Master, and the Chief Boatswain, are served in very good sort, with their silver lamps, beakers [*goblets*], cups, and bowls; every [*each*] man by himself: and are waited on by their slaves and servants, and have enough of everything. But the other sailors and swabers have not such store, but endure more hardness: for every man must provide for himself, as we told you before.

Now you must understand that in their ships, there is no Average. For when there happeneth any loss, or that any goods are thrown overboard; he standeth to the loss that oweth [*owneth*] the goods, without any more accounts: and that commonly falleth out upon the poor swabers, for they usually have their chests standing upon the hatches; because they have nothing to give unto the Porters that they might have a good place for them, as others, of greater ability use to do. And when any storm or hurt chanceth; then they throw the things overboard that first come to hand: without respect of persons, or any average to be made.

In this sort, setting sail; we held our course south-south-east for the space of 150 miles till we came to 7° S. of the Equinoctial line [*Equator*]; and from thence south-west-by-west unto the Cape of Good Hope: which way was never used before that time.

For they used to sail from Cochin south-west; and south-west-by-south between the Maldive islands, and a thousand other islands and sands [*shoals*] unto the island of St. Lawrence [*Madagascar*]; and so to the Cape. But after that the Pilot had lost the *San Jago* [in 1586] upon the "Shallows of India" [*pp.* 30-3], and escaped alive (he was now Pilot of the *San Thomas*, the best ship in all our fleet); he had, the fore voyage [*the preceding one to this, in* 1587] kept aloof 200 or 300 miles out into the sea, clean from all islands, sands, or cliffs: saying that "the casting away of so many ships, whereof no news or tidings could ever be heard, was that they were cast away upon the sands [*shoals*]; even as it chanced unto him," and to avoid the dangers thereof, as also to win the favour of the King and the Officers of the Admiralty, he was the first that took upon him to discover that way, with the ship wherein my Lord the Archbishop sailed [*p.* 40]. It is almost the same way, that the ships that came from Malacca do hold, when they sail to Portugal; wherein they see neither islands nor sands, nor any other thing, but only the plain sea.

So he came unto Portugal, certifying the Admiralty of that new way; and although he was cast into prison for the same cause, yet, by favour, he was presently released: and the Admiralty (perceiving it to be so great a danger for the ships to sail among the islands and sands, which they thought to be the chief cause of the loss of so many ships) have expressly commanded that the Pilots should use that new discovered way, according to the said Pilot's information, thereby to avoid all danger.

But that is not the cause of their casting away; although many times, they are the means of much mischief: but the chief reasons are, the unreasonable lading and charging of the ships, the unskilful seamen, and the slack visiting or searching of the ships, to see if they be fit to sail and have all things that they want. By these, and such like means, the ships are daily lost, as in other places [*pp.* 32, 34, 62,] by examples, and true witnesses, I have already declared; and as the same

Pilot, that first found the New Way, did well approve and verify to be true in the *San Thomas*, that the sands or islands did him no hurt, but only the overlading of her: wherewith, the ship was burst in pieces, by the Cape; as hereafter I will show [*pp.* 78, 82]. Notwithstanding, this way is not therefore to be disliked, although it be somewhat further about; but it is a very good way, and wholly out of all danger of sands and islands.

The 30th of January, in the night, we passed the Equinoctial line; and the next day, after, we descried a ship, which we thought to be the *San Thomas*.

The same day, one of our boys fell overboard; to save whom, we made all the haste we could to get out our small boat: but because it stood full of things, we could not so soon get it forth, but that in the meantime, the boy was cast at the least two miles behind us; and so was drowned.

The 3rd of February, the ship we saw, came close by us, and then we knew it to be the *San Thomas*. We made towards it to speak with them; but when they began to know our ship by the ropes, which were all white, being made of Indian *cairo* (fibre), and knowing that we were left behind them at Cochin (for they had thought when they had descried us, we had been one of the ships that first set sail) as also that their ship was accounted one of the best for sailing in all the fleet: for very pride and high stomach, they would not stay to speak with us; but made from us again. Which our Officers perceiving, did likewise wind from them; every [*each*] one doing his best to get before the other.

By this, and such like signs of pride, the Portuguese do often cast themselves away; and, as it may be conjectured, it was one of the chief causes of the loss of the *San Thomas*: for that they used all the means they could, to sail well, and that they might pass the Cape before us; whereof they use [*are accustomed*] to brag, when they meet at the island of Saint Helena; as if it were done by their wisdom.

So it fell out with the *San Thomas*, that coming to the Cape of Good Hope, it had a contrary wind, whereby they struck all their sails, and so lay driving against the waves of the sea, which do fall against a ship as if it struck against a hill: so that if the ship were of hard stones, yet, in the end, they would break in pieces; much more such ships as are

made of wood. And this is commonly their manner, thereby the sooner to pass the Cape: which our ship could not bear; so that we put back again with the wind, yet as little as we might, thereby to avoid the force of the sea, as much as we could.

But because the Pilot of the *San Thomas* trusted overmuch in her strength, and did purposely mean to be before us all, thereby, as he thought, to win the praise; the ship did, as it well appeared, lie still, and drive without any sails, which they call *payrar* [*drifting*]: and so, by the great force and strength of the seas, together with the overlading, was stricken in pieces and swallowed in the sea; both men, and all that was within her. As we might well perceive, coming to the Cape, by the swimming of whole chests, fats, balls, pieces of masts, dead men tied unto boards; and such like fearful tokens.

The other ships also that arrived in the island of Saint Helena, told us likewise that they had seen the like most pitiful sights; which was no small loss of so great treasure, and only many men. So that we, which beheld it, thought ourselves not free from the like danger. It was one of the richest ships that, in many years, had sailed out of India; and only by reason of the good report it had to be so good of sailing, being but new (for then it was but her second voyage), every man desired to go and lade their wares in her.

In the same ship, went Don PAULO DE LIMA PEREIRA, that raised the siege of Malacca, and had served the King thirty years in India, and had obtained many brave victories; thinking then to be in the top of his honour, and to be much advanced by the King. He also carried with him great treasure in jewels and other riches; also his wife, children, and one of his brethren: with many other gentlemen and soldiers that bare him company, thinking to have good fortune in their voyage.

There were likewise ten or twelve gentlewomen, some of them having their husbands in the ship; others, whose husbands were in Portugal. So that, to conclude, it was full of people, and most of the gentility of India: and in all our ships there were many, that seeing us in danger, would say that "they might have gone safely in the *San Thomas*," thinking it impossible that it should be cast away.

Therefore, it is manifestly seen that all the works and imaginations of men are but mere vanities; and that we must only put our trust in GOD: for that if GOD be not with us in our actions, all our labour is in vain.

But to return to our matter. Each ship did her best to be first, until the 17th of February; when we got before the *San Thomas*, being in 7° S.: and from that time forwards, we saw her no more; but only the tokens of her casting away about the Cape of Good Hope, which, after, when at the island of St. Helena, was told us more at large.

The same day, we had a great storm of wind and rain, so that the ruther of our great mast was broken by the force of the sea. From the line, we had a north and north-west wind, with continual rain, storms, and foul weather, never ceasing till we came to 20° S., which was upon the 25th of February. Then we had a south-east wind, called by the Portuguese the "General Wind" [*the Trade Wind*] with fairer weather: which they commonly find in 12° S., but we had it not before we were under 20° S. The cause whereof, we thought to be, that we had put so far into the sea, out of the common way. This wind commonly holdeth to 27° or 28° S., a little more or less: and then they must look for all kinds of winds and weathers, till they come to the Cape of Good Hope.

The 5th of March, being in 25° S., we had an East wind, with an exceeding great storm and rain; so that our rudder-staff [? *handle*] brake, and two more that we had in the ship, brake likewise, one after the other, on being put unto it; with the pin and joint wherein the end of the rudder hung: so we were forced to lie and drive, without steering, having struck all our sails; and the ship was so tossed by the waves on all sides, that we had not one dry place in all the ship. In this sort, we lay driving, for the space of two days and two nights together, with a continual storm and foul weather with rain.

The same night, we saw upon the mainyard and in many other places, a certain sign [*electrical sparks*] which the Portuguese call *Corpo Santo* or "the holy body of Brother PETER GONSALVES"; but the Spaniards call it *San Elmo*, and the Greeks (as ancient writers rehearse, and OVID among the rest) *Helle and Phryxus*. Whensoever that sign showeth upon the mast or mainyard or in any other place; it is

commonly thought, that it is a sign of better weather. When they first perceive it, the Master or Chief Boatswain whistleth, and commandeth every man to salute it with *Salve, corpo santo!* and a, *Misericordia!* with a very great cry and exclamation.

This constellation, as astronomers do write, is engendered of great moisture and vapours; and showeth like a candle that burneth dimly, and skippeth from one place to another, never lying still. We saw five of them together, all like the light of a candle, which made me wonder; and I should have hardly believed it but that I saw it, and looked very earnestly upon it. And although it was foul weather, whereby I had no great leisure to think upon such curious things, yet I purposely came from under the hatches, to note it. Those five lights the Portuguese call *Coroa de nossa Senhora*, that is, "Our Lady's crown;" and have great hope therein, when they see it. And therewithal our men, being all in great fear and heaviness, began to revive again and to be glad; as if, thereby, they had been fully assured of better comfort.

The 7th of March, we had better weather; and then we took counsel how to mend our rudder. Some were of opinion, we should sail to Mozambique, and rule the rudder with a rope: others were of contrary opinion, and said we might mend it aboard, and so perform our voyage. So that, at the last, we pulled certain pieces out of the ship's side; for we had not brought one with us, as need required: but being pulled forth, they were all too little, and would not serve.

In the end, we found it convenient to take one of the bosses in our ship, and thereof, to make an anvil; and of two oxhides, a pair of bellows; wherewith we went to work: and of a piece of an old hook or drag, we took two or three ends whereof but one would serve, and that half broken; and the splinters, we bound with an iron hoop. So, it being fitted to the rudder; we set forwards, in the name of GOD.

This asked us two days' work, before we could despatch it; and we hoisted sail again, with great joy: and gave divers alms to Our Lady and the saints, with many promises of better life; as men, being in misery, commonly do.

The day after, we took the height of the sun, and found

ourselves to be in 28° 45°, and four hundred miles from the land of Natal. There, we had good weather, with a south-east wind.

Here is the hardest passage that is in all the voyage, and oftentimes they fear the land of Natal more than the Cape: for there, is commonly stormy and foul weather; and many ships have been spoiled and cast away there, as the Portuguese records can very well show. In the same part also, we found the signs of the casting away of the *San Thomas*. So that, to conclude, commonly the ships do there pay tribute, by casting some lading overboard, or else leave body and all behind.

For this cause, they never pass Natal without great fear; having a good watch and great foresight. All their ropes being stiff, and well looked unto. The pieces drawn in; all chests, pots, fats, and other roomage, that are not stowed under hatches, being thrown overboard into the sea: and everything settled, and made ready in his place. For in this coast they have one hour, fair weather: and another hour, stormy weather; in such manner, as if heaven and earth should waste and be consumed.

In that place likewise, with a clear and fair weather, there cometh a certain cloud, which, in show, seemeth no bigger than a man's fist, and therefore, by the Portuguese, is called *olho de boy* or "ox eye"; and although then it is clear and calm weather, and that the sails, for want of wind, do beat against the masts: yet as soon as they perceive that cloud, they must presently strike all their sails. For that, commonly, it is upon the ships, before they perceive it: and with such a storm and noise, that, without all doubt, it would strike a ship into the water, if there be not great care had to look unto it.

And it chanced to the Second Fleet, after the Portuguese had discovered the [East] Indies: there being ten or twelve ships in company, which, in such a calm and fair weather, let all their sails hang, and regarded them not. And this custom [*fact*], they observed in this their navigation. For suddenly the cloud came, with a most horrible storm, and fell upon them, before they could prevent [*prepare for*] it: whereby seven or eight were sunk in the seas, and never heard of again; and the rest, with great hurt and much danger,

escaped. But, from that time forwards, they looked better to themselves; and have learned to know it: so that, at this present, they watch for it; and yet, it giveth them work enough to do.

The 12th of March, being in 31° S., we were right in the wind [*i.e.*, *the wind was dead ahead*], and had a calm; whereupon we struck all our sails; and so lay driving four days together, which the Portuguese call *Payraes*: having a very high sea which tossed our ships in such sort, that the sailors esteem it to be worse than a storm. For there, the waves of the sea met in such sort on all sides, and clasped the ship in such a manner betwixt them; that they made all her ribs to crack and in a manner to open: so that it is very dangerous for the ship.

We were in very great care [*fear*] for our Fouke mast; and therefore we bound our masts and all the ship about cables, as hard as we possibly might.

This continued to the 17th of March, and then we had a little wind; so that we hoisted sail again: but it continued no longer than to the next day.

Then we fell again into the wind, and had a storm; wherewith our mainyard broke: and then again we struck all our sails; and so lay driving or *payraer*-ing, as the Portuguese call it.

In the meantime, we mended our mainyard; and so we continued driving without our sails till the 20th of March: with great risings of the waves of the sea, which tormented us; as in that place they commonly do. All which time we were in 31° S., and could not pass forward.

In that time, we saw many birds, which the Portuguese call *Antenalen*, and are as big as ducks.

The 20th of March, we had a little wind, but very sharp; yet we hoisted our sails, and sailed by the wind.

The next night after, we had a calm; which continued till the 22nd: and then we fell again into the wind, with so great a storm that we were compelled to strike all our sails, which we could hardly pull in; and could not stay the ship in any sort, it drave so fast. Whereby we were in great danger, so that we were compelled to bind the bonnet about the Forecastle, which was our sail (for other sail we might not bear); and so sailed backwards whither the wind would

drive us, thereby to have some ease. Yet we had enough to do, for we were compelled to throw our great boat overboard; with all chests, pots, and vessels that stood upon the hatches, with other wares, such as came first to hand.

This storm continued for the space of two days and three nights, without ceasing.

The 25th of March, being the day before Palm Sunday [*N.S.*], we had better wind and weather, after we had given great alms to our blessed Lady of the Annunciation, whose feast was upon that day; and again hoisted up our sails, keeping our course towards the Cape.

At the same time, we had a disease [? *scurvy*] in our ship, that took us in the mouth, lips, throat, and tongue; which took off the skin and made them swell: whereby they could not eat but with great pain; and not one in the ship but had it.

The 8th of April, in the morning, after we had sailed fifteen days before the wind, towards the Cape, we perceived a sign of the land, which was green water: but we found no ground; yet was it not above forty miles from the land, according to the Pilot's judgement.

We saw there also divers of the birds, called *Mangas de velludo*, that is, "Velvet sleeves"; for they have upon the ends of their wings, black points like velvet; all the rest being white and somewhat grey: which they hold for a certain sign of land, that lieth within the Cape of Good Hope, called *Baya de la Goa*, or "the Bay of the Lake" in $33\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ S.

The 9th of April, at night, we were again right in the wind, in 35° 30′ S., with a great storm and foul weather, that continued till the 14th of the same month: so that we were compelled (not being able to endure the force of the sea, with the continual storm and foul weather) to sail back again before the wind, with the half of our Fouke sail up. For we found ourselves not strong enough to drive without sails, as the ship commonly used to do, which oftentimes is the cause of their casting away: as it may well be judged by reason of the great force and strength of the waves that run there, so that it seemeth almost impossible for a ship to bear out so great a force, though it were of iron.

And though we sailed [backward] before the wind, yet we

had danger enough; for the sea came behind and over our ship, and filled all the hatches: whereby we were compelled to bind our masts, cables, and all the ship round about with ropes; that, with the great force of the sea, it might not stir, and fly to pieces. And we were forced to pump, night and day.

We had at each end of the Fouke-yard, a rope that reached to the Pilot: and at each rope, there stood fifteen or sixteen men: the Pilot sitting in his seat; and the under Pilot behind, upon the stern of the ship [*which was now going backwards, stern first*] to mark the course of the sea, and so to advertise the other Pilot. At the rudder, there stood ten or twelve men; and the other sailors upon the hatches, to rule the sails.

As the waves came and covered the ship, the Under Pilot called, and then the Chief Pilot spake to them at the rudder "to hold stiff!" and commanded the ropes that were at the Fouke-yard to be pulled stiff. The sailors and the Chief Boatswain likewise standing on the hatches, to keep the ship right in the waves: for if the waves had once gotten us about that they had entered on the sides of the ship, it had been certainly said of us, *requiescant in pace*. And it was there, almost as cold as it is here with us [*in Holland*] in winter, when it freezeth not. Whereby we were all sore toiled, and in a manner out of heart: so that we esteemed ourselves clean cast away.

For we were forced, by turns, not one excepted, to go to the rudder, and from thence to the pump; so that we had no time to sleep, eat, rest, nor clothe ourselves. And to help us the better, the staff [? *handle*] of our rudder brake in pieces, and had almost slain two or three of our men: but GOD had pity on us; so that there happened no other hurt, but that some of them were a little amazed [*stunned*].

This continued till the 14th of April, without any change; whereupon all the Officers of the ship assembled, together with others of the company, taking counsel what was best to be done: and perceiving the ship not to be strong enough to pass the Cape, they concluded, by *Protestation* whereunto they subscribed their hands, to sail with the ship to Mozambique, and there to winter and to repair the ship, and provide all necessaries for it.

Which greatly grieved the common sort, because they did find as great danger in turning back again to Mozambique, as to

pass the Cape; for they were to sail again by the land of Natal, which they feared as much as the Cape. And also, though they did arrive at Mozambique, yet they accounted it as much as a lost voyage. For they must stay there till next year, and spend there all they have; for all things that come thither, are brought out of India, so that everything there is as dear as gold: which would be hard for the poor sailors and swabers, having but little means to relieve themselves; and thereby they should be constrained to sell that little they had brought with them for half the value. Besides that, they were then about 500 miles from Mozambique.

Wherefore, there grew a great noise and murmuring in the ship, that cursed the Captain and Officers, because the ship was badly provided: for it had not one rope more than hung about the ship; nor anything whereof to make them, if those that we had, should have chanced to break.

The Captain laid the fault on the Master, because he asked not for them, when he was at land. The Master said that he had spoken for them, and that the *cairo* or hemp, whereof ropes are made in India, was delivered to the Captain; and that he had sold the best part thereof, to put the money in his purse: and that was the cause why we wanted.

With this disorder, they bring their matters to pass, not once remembering what may fall out: but when they are in danger; then, there is nothing else but crying *Misericordia!* and calling to "Our Lady" for help.

The Captain could not tell what to answer, seeing us in that trouble; but said that "He marvelled at nothing so much, as why our LORD GOD suffered them (being so good Christians and Catholics as they were) to pass the Cape with so great torments and dangerous weather, having so great and strong ships: and that the Englishmen (being heretics, and blasphemers of GOD) passed the Cape so easily, with such small and weak vessels." For they had received news in India, that an English ship [? *DRAKE's* Pelican, *on* 18*th June* 1580; *or CAVENDISH's ship, the* Desire, *eleven months before, viz., on the* 19*th of May* 1588, *see Vol. I. p.* 293] had passed the Cape, with very great ease.

So we made back again towards Mozambique, being in great despair; for no man cared to lay his hand to work, and hardly any man would obey the Officers of the ship. Sailing

in this manner, we perceived divers vessels [*casks, &c.*], and boards with dead men bound upon them, driving in the sea: which comforted us a little, we thinking that some of the other ships were in the same taking; and had thrown some of their goods overboard, and so made towards Mozambique before us: whereby we thought to have company, and that we were not alone unfortunate; for it is commonly said that "companions in misery are a comfort to one another," and so it was to us. But, I would to GOD! it had been so, as we imagined; but it was far worse than turning back again: for those were the signs of the casting away of the *San Thomas*; as we were afterwards advertised in the island of Saint Helena.

The 15th of April we had another great calm; which continued till the 17th: and taking the height of the sun, we found ourselves to be 37° S., to the great admiration [*astonishment*] of all the company. For being, as I said, in 35° S., and having sailed for the space of five days, with so great a wind and stormy weather, we should rather, by all men's reason, have lessened our degrees; and by estimation, we made account to have been in 30° S., or 32° S. at the highest. The cause why our ship went backward, in that sort, against wind and weather, towards the Cape, thinking we made towards Mozambique, was by the water, which in those countries carrieth with a very strong stream [*current*] towards the Cape: as the Pilot told us he had proved at other times; yet he thought not that the water had run with so great a stream as now, by experience, he found it did.

So as it seemed that GOD, miraculously (against man's reason and judgement, and all the force of wind and storms), would have us pass the Cape, when we were least in hope thereof: whereby we may plainly perceive that all men's actions, without the hand of GOD, are of no moment.

The same day, we again saw green water, and the birds called *Mangas de velludo* or "Velvet sleeves;" which are certain signs of the Cape of Good Hope: and, about evening, a swallow flew into our ship, whereat they much rejoiced, saying that "It was a sign and foreshowing that Our Lady had sent the swallow on board to comfort us; and that we should pass the Cape." Wherewith they once again agreed to prove if we could pass it; seeing we had had such signs and tokens to put us in good comfort that GOD would help

us. This being concluded [*settled*], we sang the *Litany* with *Ora pro nobis!* and gave many alms; with promises of pilgrimages and visitations and such like things, which was our daily work.

With that, the sailors and others began to take courage and to be lusty, every one willingly doing his office: offering rather to lose life and welfare in adventuring to pass the Cape; than, with full assurance of their safety, to return tc Mozambique. We had then great waves, and very big water in the sea: which left us not, till we came to the other side of the Cape.

The 18th of April, we fell again into the wind, with as great storms and foul weather as ever we had before; so that we verily thought we should have been cast away: for at every minute, the sea covered our ship with water. Tc lighten her, we cast overboard divers chests, and much cinnamon, with other things that first came to hand. Wherewith every man made account to die; and began to confess themselves, and to ask each other's forgiveness: thinking, without more hope, that our last day was come. This storm continued in this sort, at the least, for the space of twenty-four hours. In the meantime great alms were given in our ship to many Virgin *Maries* and other saints; with great devotion and promises of other wonderful things, when they came to land. At the last, GOD comforted us, and sent us better weather. For, on the 19th of April, the weather began to clear up; and therewith, we were in better comfort.

The 20th of April, we took the height of the sun, and found it to be 36° S.: and again we saw green water, some birds which they call *Alcatraces* [*i.e.*, *albatrosses*], and many sea-wolves; which they hold for certain signs of the Cape of Good Hope. We were, as we thought, hard by the land; but yet saw none. The same day, we had the wind somewhat fuller, and were in great hope to pass the Cape: so that the men began to be in better comfort, by reason of the signs we had seen.

All that day, we saw green water, till the 22nd of April, upon which day, twice, and in the night following, we cast out the lead, and found no ground: which is a good sign that we had passed the Cape *das Aquilhas*, or "the Cape of Needles," which lieth in 35° S., about twenty miles from the

Cape of Good Hope in 34° 30′ S. As about this Cape *das Aquilhas*, ground is found, at the least, thirty or forty miles from the land, we knew we were past it: and also by the colour of the water, and the birds which are always found there. And the better to assure us, the great and high sea that had so long tormented us, left us; and then we found a smoother water, much differing from the former: so that we then seemed to have come out of hell into paradise, with as great joy as if we thought we were within the sight of some haven. And had withal, a good wind; though somewhat cold.

The 23rd of April, we passed the Cape of Good Hope, with a great and general gladness; it being then three months and three days after we had set sail from Cochin: not once seeing any land or sands [*shoals*] at all, but only the assured tokens of the said Cape; which happeneth very seldom, for the Pilots do always use what means they can to see the Cape and to know the land, to certainly know thereby that they are past it. For then, their degrees must lessen; and then they may as soon [*hap to*] make towards Mozambique as to the island of St. Helena. For although they can well perceive it by the water, yet is it necessary for them to see the land, the better to set their course unto St. Helena: wherein they must always keep on the left hand; otherwise it were impossible for them to come at it, if they leave that course. For if they once pass it, they cannot come to it again: because there bloweth continually but one kind of wind, which is south-east [*Trade Wind*]. Thus having passed the Cape, we got before the wind.

The 24th of April, the Pilot willed us to give *bona viagen* unto the Cape of Good Hope, according to the custom: which was done with great joy and gladness, by all that were in the ship. For then, they assure themselves that they sail to Portugal, and shall not turn again into India: for so long as they are not past the Cape, they are always in doubt. We were then about 50 miles beyond the Cape.

The signs and tokens whereby they know themselves to have certainly passed the Cape, are great heaps and pieces of thick reeds that always thereabouts drive upon the water, at least 15 or 20 miles from the land; also certain birds called by the Portuguese, *Feisoins*, somewhat greater

than seamews, being white and full of black spots all over their bodies; and are very easy to be known from all other birds.

Having passed the Cape, the Pilots set their course for St. Helena, north-west, and north-west-by-west.

The 27th of April, we were right in the wind, and so continued till the next day; and then we had a calm, being in 30° S. on the Portugal side.

The 29th of April, we got before the General Wind [*the Trade Wind*] that always bloweth in those countries, all the whole year, until you come to the Equinoctial line: so that they may well let their sails stand, and lay them down to sleep; for, in the greatest wind that bloweth there, they need not strike their mainyard, above half the mast.

The 12th of May, in the morning, betimes, we discovered the island of St. Helena: whereat there was as great joy in the ship, as if we had been in heaven. We were then about two miles from the land, the island lying from us west-south-west; whereunto we sailed so close that, with a caliver shot, we might reach unto the shore. Being hard by it, we sailed about a corner of land that lay north-west from us, which having compassed, we sailed close by the land, west-north-west: the land on that side being so high and steep that it seemed to be a wall that reached to the skies.

In that sort, we sailed [on the north side of the island] about a mile and a half, and compassed about the other corner that lay westward from us: which corner being compassed, we presently perceived the ships that lay in the road; which were those ships that set sail before us out of India. They were lying about a small half mile from the foresaid corner, close under the land; so that as the land there lieth south-east from them, by reason of the high land, the ships lie there as safe as if they were in a haven. For they may well hear the wind whistle on the tops of their mainyards; but lower it cannot come: and they lie so close under the land, that they may almost cast a stone upon the shore.

There is good ground there at 25 and 30 fathoms deep; but if they chance to put further out or to pass beyond it; they must go forward, for they can get no more unto the land. For this cause we kept so close to the shore, that the height of the land took the wind from us; and as the ship would

not steer without wind, so it drave upon the land: whereby our boresprit [*bowsprit*] touched the shore; and therewith, we thought that ship and goods had all been cast away. But, by reason of the great depth, being ten fathoms, of water; and, with the help of the boats and men of the other ships that came unto us, we put off from the land, without any hurt: and by those boats, we were brought to a place where the other ships lay at anchor; which is right against a valley, that lieth between two high hills, wherein there standeth a little church, called Saint Helena.

There we found five ships, which were, the ship that came from Malacca; and the *Santa Maria*, which had been there about fifteen days [*i.e., had arrived 27th of April*]: both of which came together to the Cape of Good Hope. The *Sant Antonio*, and the *San Christopher*, the admiral, that had arrived there ten days before [*i.e., on 2nd of May*]: and the *Nostra Señora de Concepcao*, which came thither but the day before us [*i.e., 11th of May*]. So that there wanted none of the fleet, but the *San Thomas*; and, by the signs and tokens that we and the other ships had seen at sea (as masts, deals, fats, chests, and many dead men that had bound themselves upon boards; with a thousand other such like signs), we presumed to be lost: as we after understood, for it was never seen after[wards].

Our admiral [*flag ship*] likewise, had been in great danger of casting away. For, although it was a new ship, and this the first voyage it had made; yet it was so eaten with worms, that it had, at the least, 20 handsful deep of water within it. At the Cape, they were forced to throw half of the goods overboard into the sea; and were constrained continually to pump with two pumps, both night and day, and never hold still. And being at the island of St. Helena, she had there also sunk to the ground, if the other ships had not helped her.

The rest of the ships could likewise tell what dangers and miseries they had endured.

About three months before our arrival at St. Helena [*i.e., in February* 1589] there had been a ship, which, the year before, set out of Ormus, with the goods and men that remained of the *San Salvador* at Zanzibar, that had been saved by the Portuguese army, and brought to Ormus, as in

another place I have declared [*see p.* 44]. That ship had wintered in Mozambique, and had passed by the Cape very soon; and so sailed, without any company, to Portugal. She left some of her sick men on the island, as the manner is; which the next ships that come thither, must take into them.

These gave us intelligence that four [*or rather eleven*] months before our arrival, there had been an English ship [*CAVENDISH's ship the* Desire, *see Vol. I. p.* 293] at the island of St. Helena, which had sailed through the Straits of Magellan, and through the South Seas, and from thence, to the Philippine Islands; and had passed through the Straits of Sunda, that lie beyond Malacca, between the islands of Sumatra and Java: in the which way, she had taken a ship of China, such as they call *Junks*, ladened with silver and gold, and all kinds of silks. And that, she sent a letter, with a small present, to the Bishop of MALACCA, telling him, "That she sent him that of friendship, meaning to come herself and visit him."

Out of that ship of China, they took a Portuguese Pilot; and so passed the Cape of Good Hope, and came to the island of St. Helena: where they took in fresh water and other necessaries, and beat down the altar and cross that stood in the church.

They left behind them a kettle and a sword, which the Portuguese, at our arrival, found there: yet could they not conceive or think what that might mean? Some thought it was left there for a sign to some other ships of his company; but every man may think, what he will thereof.

In the ship of Malacca came for Factor of the Pepper one GERRARD VAN AFHUISEN, born in Antwerp, and dwelling in Lisbon: who had sailed from Lisbon, in the same ship, about two years before. For they had stayed in Malacca, at the least, fourteen months; by reason of the wars and troubles that were in that country, until Malacca was relieved as I said before [*pp.* 42-46]: whereby they had passed great misery, and been at great charges. And because it is a very unwholesome country, together with the constant lying there so long; of 200 men that at first sailed from Lisbon in the ship, there were but 18 or 20 left alive: so that

they were enforced to take in other unskilful men, in Malacca, to bring the ship home.

This GERRARD VAN AFHUISEN, being of mine acquaintance, and my good friend before my departure out of Portugal for India, marvelled and joyed much to find me there, little thinking that we should meet in so strange a place: and there, we discoursed of our past travels.

And of him, among divers other things, I learned many true instructions, as well of Malacca as of the countries and islands lying about it; both as to their manner of dealing in trade or merchandise, as in other memorable things.

St. Helena to Lisbon.

THE Island of St. Helena is six miles in compass, and lieth in 16° 15′ S.

It is a very high and hilly country, so that it commonly reacheth unto the clouds. The country itself is very ashy and dry. Also all the trees (whereof there is a great store, and grow of themselves in the woods) that are therein, are little worth, but only to burn.

When the Portuguese first discovered it [*on 21st May* 1502], there were not any beasts or fruits at all within the island; but only a great store of freshwater. This is excellently good, and falleth down from the mountains, and so runneth, in great abundance, into the valley where the Church standeth; and from thence, by small channels in the sea, where the Portuguese fill their vessels full of water, and wash their clothes. So that it is a great benefit for them; and a pleasant sight it is to behold, how clear, and in how many streams, the water runneth down the valley: which may be thought a miracle considering the dryness of the country, together with the stony rocks and hills therein.

The Portuguese have, by little and little, brought many beasts into it; and planted all sorts of fruits in the valleys: which have grown there in so great abundance, that it is almost incredible. For it is so full of goats, bucks, wild hogs, hens, partridges, and doves, by thousands, that any man that that will, may hunt and take them. There would be always

plenty and sufficient, although there came as many ships more to the island as there do: and they may kill them with stones and staves, by reason of the great numbers of them.

Now for fruits, as Portuguese figs, pomegranates, oranges, lemons, citrons, and such like fruits; there are so many that grow without planting or setting, that all the valleys are full of them: which is a great pleasure to behold, so that it seemeth to be an earthly Paradise. It hath fruit all the year long, because it raineth there, by showers, at the least five or six times every day; and then again, the sun so shineth that whatsoever is planted there, it groweth very well. But, because the Portuguese are not over curious of new things, there groweth not of all sorts of fruits of Portugal and India in that island. For assuredly, without any doubt, they would grow well in that land, because of the good temperature of the air.

Besides this, they have so great abundance of fish round about the island, that it seemeth a wonder wrought of GOD; for, with crooked nails, they may take as much fish as they will: so that all the ships do provide themselves with fish of all sorts in that place, which is hung up and dried; and is of as good a taste and savour as any fish that I ever ate, and this every man, that hath been there, affirmeth to be true.

And the better to serve their turns; upon the rocks, they find salt, which serveth them for their necessary provisions.

So that, to conclude, it is an earthly Paradise for the Portuguese ships; and seemeth to have been miraculously discovered for the refreshing and service of the same: considering the smallness and highness of the land, lying in the middle of the Ocean seas, and so far from the firm land or any other islands, that it seemeth to be a Buoy placed in the middle of the Spanish seas. For if this island were not, it were impossible for the ships to make any good or prosperous voyage. For it hath often fallen out, that some ships which have missed thereof, have endured the greatest misery in the world; and were forced to put into the coast of Guinea, there to stay the falling of the rain, and so to get fresh water; and afterwards came, half dead and spoiled, to Portugal.

It is the fashion, that all the sick persons that are in the ships, and cannot well sail in them, are left there in the

island; with some provision of rice, biscuit, oil, and spices: for fish and flesh, they may have enough. For when the ships are gone, then all the beasts (which, by reason of the great number of people, fly into the mountains) come down again into the valleys; where they may take them with their hands, and kill them as they list.

These sick men stay there till the next year, till other ships come hither, which take them with them. They are commonly soon healed in that island, it being a very sound and pleasant country: and it is very seldom seen that any of them die there, because they have always a temperate air and cool wind, and always fruit throughout the whole year.

The King will not suffer any man to dwell in it, because they should not destroy and spoil the country, and hold it as their own: but will have it common for every man to take what he hath need of.

In time past, there dwelt an hermit in the isle, under pretence of doing penance, and to uphold the Church. He killed many of the goats and bucks: so that, every year, he sold at the least 500 or 600 skins, and made great profit thereon; which the King hearing, caused him presently to be brought from thence to Portugal.

Likewise, upon a time, two Kaffirs or black people of Mozambique, and a Javanese, with two women slaves, stole out of the ships; and hid themselves in the rocks of this island, which are very high and wild, whereby men can hardly pass them. They lived there together, and begat children, so that, in the end, there were, at the least, twenty persons: who, when the ships were gone, ran throughout the island, and did much hurt; making their houses and dwelling-places between some of the hills where not any of the Portuguese had been, nor yet could easily come at them, and therein they hid themselves till the ships were gone. But, in the end, they were perceived, and the Portuguese used all the means they could to take them: but they knew so well how to hide and defend themselves that, in many years, they could not be taken. In the end, fearing that in time they might be hurtful unto them and hinder them much; by express commandment of the King, after long and great labour, they took them all, and brought them prisoners to Portugal.

So that, at this present, no man dwelleth therein; but only the sick men, as I told you before.

When the ships come thither, every man maketh his lodging under a tree, setting a tent about it; and the trees are there so thick, that it presently seemeth a little town or an army in the field. Every man provideth for himself, flesh, fish, fruit, and wood; for there is enough for them all: and every one washeth linen.

There, they hold a General Fasting and Prayer, with *Mass* every day: which is done with great devotion, with procession, and thanksgiving, and other hymns; thanking GOD, that He hath preserved them from the danger of the Cape of Good Hope, and brought them to that island in safety.

They use oftentimes to carve their names and marks in trees and plants, for a perpetual memory: whereof many hundreds are there to be found; which letters, with the growing of the trees, do also grow bigger and bigger.

We found names that had been there since the years 1510 and 1515, and every year following, orderly; which names stood upon fig trees, every letter being of the bigness of a span, by reason of the age and growing of the trees.

This shall suffice for the description of the island of St. Helena.

The 21st of May [*N.S.*], being Saint Helena's Day and Whitsunday, after we had taken in all our fresh water and other necessaries, we set sail altogether in company, and directed our course towards Portugal: leaving about fifteen sick men in the island, and some slaves that ran out of the ships.

The 26th of May, in the evening, we spoke with the *Santa Maria*, and the next day [*27th of May*] with the Galleon of Malacca. The same morning, and in the afternoon, with the Admiral; who willed us to follow him unto the Island of Ascension.

The same day, [*27th*] one of our slaves fell overboard, and although we used all the means we could to save him; yet we could not do it, by reason we sailed before the wind.

The same day, at night, we saw the island of Ascension; and lavered [*tacked*] all that night, because we would not pass the island.

In the morning of the 28th of May, we sailed about the island, to see if there were any ground to anchor on: because the Admiral was so leaky, that she could no longer hold out. Her men had desired the Officers of the ship that they would lay the goods on land in the island of Ascension, and there leave it with good watch and necessaries for them that kept it; and so sail with the empty ship to Portugal and there procure some other ship to fetch the goods: thinking it was sufficient to have it well watched and kept there; for that there cometh not a ship in twenty years into that island, because there is nothing to be had in it.

We went close unto it, by a very white and fair sand, where the Admiral and all the ships cast out the lead, and found from 80 to 50 and 40 fathoms of water. And although they might have gone closer to the land, yet the Officers excused themselves, saying, "That they could not go nearer, and that it was too deep, and very dangerous for them to anchor there," which they said to pacify the men; desiring that they might borrow two pumps more of the other ships, and so, without doubt, they could bring the ship safe to Portugal. And although it would be great pain and labour for them to do it, yet they must, of force, content themselves: for the Admiral and all the gentlemen that were in the ship, pumped both day and night, as their turns came about, as well as the meanest; only to encourage the people.

They borrowed one pump of the *Santa Maria*; and sent to desire us to lend them another. Although our ship was none of the best among the fleet, and we were of opinion not to lend them any (not knowing what need we should have ourselves, having so long a way to sail): yet, in the end, seeing the great necessity they were in; we lent them one: the rather because they said that "The admiral's meaning was, if it were calm weather, to discharge some of their wares into other ships; thereby to lighten themselves": but it fell not out as they thought; so that, with great misery and labour, they overcame their voyage.

This island lieth in 8° 30′ S. There is not any fresh water in it, nor one green leaf or branch. It hath certain fair and white sands about it; and a great store of fish, wherein it surpasseth St. Helena.

From that island, the ships hold their course north-west-

by-west, to 1° N., where there lieth a cliff [*rock*] called *Penedo de Sam Pedro*; which many times they see. It is 300 miles from the island of Ascension.

The 5th of June, we again passed the Equinoctial line, and then again began to see the North Star.

The 8th of June, being 4° N., we lost our General South-east Wind, that had served us from the Cape of Good Hope hither.

Then began the rains and calms, for then we began to come near the coast of Guinea; which continueth to 9° N. These calms and rains held us till 11° N., being the 20th of June.

The ships separated themselves, by reason of the calms, which made them not able to stir: and in 11° N., they met again.

There we had a north-east wind, which is called a General Wind, because it floweth continually in those countries; and holdeth to 30° N., and 32° N.; beginning many times at 6° N., and 7° N., be it we had it not, till we were in 11° N. This wind is somewhat scant; for we must, of force, sail in the wind, because our chief course is north-west-by-north.

The 23rd of June, we passed Cape de Verde, in 15° N.

The 26th of the same month, we passed the Islands of Cape de Verde, which are ten in number.

Then we entered into the *Sargasso* Sea, which is all covered with herbs, so that it seemeth to be like a green field; and so thick that a man cannot see the water, neither can the ships passed through it, but with great labour, unless they have a strong wind. The herb is like samphire, of a yellow colour; and hath berries like gooseberries, but nothing in them. The Portuguese call it *Sargasso*, because it is like the herb *Sargasso*, that groweth in their wells in Portugal. It is not known whence it cometh: for there is no land nor island known to be near that sea, but the coast of Africa, which is 400 miles from thence. It is thought that it cometh from the ground; and yet there is no ground in that place to be found.

In sailing to India, the ships come not into that sea; for then they keep closer to the shore, so that it is not once seen: and it is not found in any place but there, from 20° N. to 34° N., so thick and so full, as if they were whole islands, most strange to behold. In that country, it is as cold in winter as it is here with us [*in Holland*], when it freezes not:

which the Portuguese esteem a great cold; and clothe themselves against it, as we do in a mighty great frost.

The 2nd of July, we were in the height [*latitude*] of the Canary Islands, in 28° N. and 29° N.; which lay on our right hand.

The 6th of July, we were under 32° N., where we lost the General North-east Wind, and had a calm, and saw much of the *Sargasso*, which covered all the sea.

The 10th of the same month, we got again before the wind, being in 34° N.; and then, we saw no more of the *Sargasso* herb, but a fair clear sea.

The 18th of July, we were in 39° N., under which height lieth the islands of Corvo and Terceira; and the river of Lisbon: all these days we had many calms.

The next day, we had a west wind, being a right fore wind; and saw many flying fishes, almost as great as haddocks; that flew four or five fathoms high above the water.

The 22nd of July [*N.S.*], the wind continuing, about noon, we saw the islands of Flores and Corvo, which lie close to one another. From thence, it is 70 miles Eastward, to the island of Terceira.

At that time, we began to have many sick men, that is to say, some sick in their eyes, and some in their breasts and bellies, by reason of the long voyage, and because their victuals began to loose their taste and savour. Many wanted meat [*i.e., had no animal food*]: whereby divers of them, through want, were compelled to seethe rice with salt water. So that some of them died; which, many times, were found under the fore deck, that had lain dead two or three days, no man knowing it: which was a pitiful sight to behold, considering the misery they endured aboard those ships.

There died in our ship, from India unto that place, of slaves and others, to the number of twenty-four persons.

The same day, about evening, being by the islands of Flores and Corvo, we perceived three ships that made towards us, which came from under the land: which put us in great fear, for they came close by our admiral, and shot divers times at him, and at another ship of our company; whereby we perceived them to be Englishmen (for they bare an English flag upon their maintop), but none of them

showed to be about 60 tons in greatness [*while the size of each Carrack was from* 600 *to* 1,600 *tons*]. About evening, they followed after us: and all night, bore lanterns with candles burning in them at their sterns, although the moon shined.

The same night, we passed hard by the island of Fayal. The next day [*23rd*], being betwixt the island of St. George that lay on our right hand, and the small island of Gracioso on our left hand; we espied the three English ships, still following us, take counsel together: whereof one sailed backwards (thinking that some other ship had come after us without company), and, for a small time, was out of sight; but it was not long before it came again to the other two.

Wherewith they took counsel, and all three came together against our ship, because we lay in the lee of all the ships, and had the island of St. George on the one side instead of a sconce [*bulwark*], thinking so to deal with us that, in the end, we should be constrained to run upon the shore; whereof we wanted not much.

In that manner, with their flags openly displayed, they came lustily towards us, sounding their trumpets; and sailed at least three times about us, beating [*firing at*] us with musket and caliver, and some great pieces; which did not hurt us in the body of our ship, but spoiled all our sails and ropes. And to conclude, we were so plagued by them that no man durst put forth his head; and when we shot off a piece, we had at the least an hour's work to lade it again; whereby we had as great a noise and cry in the ship as if we had been cast away: whereat the Englishmen themselves began to mock us; and with a thousand jesting words called unto us.

In the meantime, the other ships hoisted all their sails, and did the best they could to sail to the island of Terceira; not looking once behind them to help us, and doubting [*fearing*] they should come too late thither: not caring for us, but thinking themselves to have done sufficiently, so they saved their own stakes; whereby it may easily be seen, what company they keep one with the other, and what order is among them.

In the end, the Englishmen, perceiving small advantage against us (little knowing in what case and fear we were), and also because we were not far from Terceira, left us; which made us not a little to rejoice, as thinking ourselves

to be risen from death to life: although we were not well assured, neither yet void of fear, till we lay in the road before Terceira, and under the safety of the Portuguese fort; and we made all the sails we could, that we might get thither in good time.

On the other side, we were in great doubt, because we knew not what they did in the island, nor whether they were our friends or enemies; and we doubted so much the more, because we found no Men of war, nor any Caravels of Advices from Portugal, as we made our accounts to do, than they might convoy us from thence, or give us advice as they, ordinarily, in that country, use to do: and because the Englishmen had been so victorious in those parts, it made us suspect that it went not well with Spain.

They of the island of Terceira were in no less fear than we were: for seeing our fleet, they thought us to be English, and that we came to overrun the island; because the three Englishmen had bound up their flags, and came in company with us. For which cause, the island sent out two Caravels that lay there with Advices from the King, for the Indian ships that should come thither. Those caravels came to view us, and perceiving what we were, made after us; whereupon the English ships left us, and made towards them, as the caravels thought them to be friends and shunned them not, as supposing them to be of our company: but we shot four or five times, and made signs unto them, that they should make towards the island; which they presently did.

The Englishmen perceiving that, did put forwards into the sea. So the caravels boarded us, telling us, "That the men of the island were all in arms, having received advice from Portugal, that Sir FRANCIS DRAKE was in readiness, and would come unto those islands."

They likewise brought us news of the overthrow of the Spanish fleet [*the Armada in* 1588] before England; and that the Englishmen had been before the gates of Lisbon [*with Don* ANTONIO, *and under Sir F.* DRAKE *and Sir* JOHN NORRIS, *in May* 1589]: whereupon the King gave us commandment that we should put into the island of Terceira; and there lie under the safety of the Castle until we received further advices what we should do, or whither we should sail. For they thought it too dangerous for us to go to Lisbon.

This news put our fleet in great fear, and made us look upon each other, not knowing what to say. It being dangerous for the ships to put into the road, because it lieth open to the sea: so that the Indian ships, although they had express commandment from the King, yet durst not anchor there: but used only to lavere [*tack*] to and fro; sending their boats on land to fetch such necessaries as they wanted, without anchoring.

But being by necessity compelled thereunto, as also by the King's commandment; and because we understood the Earl of CUMBERLAND not to be far from those islands with certain ships of war [*the Earl did not arrive at the Azores, till the 11th August, N.S. see p.* 188]: we made necessity a virtue, and entering the road, anchored close under the Castle, staying for advices and order from the King to perform our voyage; it being then the 24th [*N.S., i.e., O.S.* 14*th*] of July and St. James's Day.

We were in all six ships, that is, five from the East Indies and one from Malacca; and lay in the road, before the town of Angra: from whence we presently sent three or four caravels to Portugal, with advices unto the King of our arrival.

There we lay in great danger and much fear; for when the month of August cometh, it is very dangerous lying before that island: for then it beginneth to storm. The ships are there safe from all winds, saving the south and south-east winds; but when they blow, they lie in a thousand dangers: especially the East India ships, which are very heavily ladened and so full that they are almost ready to sink; so that they can hardly be steered.

The 4th of August, in the night, we had a south wind out of the sea, wherewith it began so to storm, that all the ships were in great danger to be cast away, and to run upon the shore: so that they were in great fear; and shot off their pieces to call for help. The officers and most of the sailors were on land; and none but pugs [? *boys*] and slaves in the ships: for it is a common custom with the Portuguese, that wheresoever they anchor, presently they go all on land, and let the ship lie with a boy or two in it.

All the bells of the town were hereupon rung, and there

was such a noise and cry in every place, that one could not hear the other speak. Those that were on land, by reason of the foul weather, could not get aboard; and they in the ship could not come to land. Our ship, the *Santa Cruz*, was in great danger, thinking verily it should have run on the sands: but GOD helped them.

The ship that came from Malacca brake her cables; and had not men enough aboard the ship, nor any that could tell how to cast forth another anchor; so that, in the end, they cut their masts, and drave upon the cliffs, where it stayed and brake in pieces, and presently sank under the water to the upper orlop. With that, the wind came north-west, wherewith the storm ceased; and the water became calm. If that had not been, all the ships had followed the same course; for some of them were at the point to cut their masts and cables to save their lives: but GOD would not have it so.

In that ship of Malacca, was lost much rich and costly merchandise; for these ships are ordinarily as rich as any ships that come from India, being full of all the rich wares of China, Moluccas, Japan, and all those countries: so that it was a great pity to see what costly things (as silks, damasks, cloths of gold and silver, and such like wares) fleeted upon the sea, and were torn in pieces.

There were much goods saved, that lay in the upper part of the ship, and also by duckers [*divers*], as pepper, nutmegs, and cloves; but most of it was lost: and that which was saved, was, in a manner, spoiled, and little worth; which was presently, by the King's Officers in the island, was seized upon and to the Farmers' uses, shut up in the *Alsandega* or Custom House, for the King's custom. Not once regarding the poor men, nor their long and dangerous voyage that had continued the space of three years, with so great misery and trouble endured by them at Malacca, as in another place [*pp.* 42-46] I have already showed; so that they could not obtain so much favour of the King nor of his Officers, that they might have some part of the goods that were saved and brought to land, although they offered to put in sureties for so much as the custom might amount to, or else to leave as much goods in the Officer's hands as would satisfy them.

And although they made daily and pitiful complaints that

they had not wherewith to live; and that they desired, upon their own adventure, to freight certain ships or caravels at their own charge, and to put in good sureties to deliver the goods in the Custom House of Lisbon; yet could they not obtain their requests, but were answered, that "The King, for the assurance of his custom and of all the goods; would send an *armado* by sea to fetch the goods": which "fetching" continued for the space of two years and a half; and yet nothing was done, for there came no *armado*.

In the meantime, the poor sailors consumed all they had; and desperately cursed themselves, the King, and all his Officers. Yet, in the end, by the great and unfortunate suit of the Farmers of the Pepper, every man had license to lade his goods in what ship he would, after it had lain there for the space of two years and a half; putting in sureties to deliver the goods into the Custom House of Lisbon, where they must pay the half or more of the same goods for custom to the King: without any respect of their hard fortune and great misery, during their long and dangerous voyage.

And he that will be despatched in the Custom House there, must fee the Officers; otherwise it is most commonly three or four months before the goods are delivered unto the owners: and the best things, or any fine device that the Merchants, for their own uses, bring out of India, if the Officers like them, they must have them; yet they will promise to pay for them, but they set no day when. So the poor Merchants are forced to give them the rest; and are well contented that the Officers are so pleased, and use no more delays.

The 8th of August [*N.S.*], the Officers of the ships took counsel together, with the Governor of the island, what they were best to do; thinking it not good to follow the King's advice; considering their long staying, and fearing some other hard fortune, if they should stay.

And because a great Galleon, being a Man of war and very strong, lay then before the island, wherein was the Governor of Brazil; which through foul weather, had put in there; they concluded that this Galleon, being well appointed, should sail with them to Lisbon. And although they did it, without the advice and commandment of the King; yet they had rather so adventure their lives upon the seas, than again to

stay the danger of the haven. For that the winter did daily more and more increase; so that they were not to look for any better weather.

And, in that sort, appointing themselves as well as they could, and taking in all necessary provisions, the same day [30*th July, O.S.*], they all set sail, with no small fear of falling into some misfortune by the way.

But, because many that were of the ship of Malacca, stayed at Terceira to save such goods as, by any means, might be saved; and by that means to help themselves: among the which was the Factor of the Pepper, being one of my acquaintance. At whose request, as also because the pepper of that ship, and of all the other ships belonged all to one Farmer, by whom I was appointed Factor; seeing the necessity he had, and that he alone could hardly despatch so great a matter: I took order for mine own affairs [*charge*], and, having despatched it by other ships; I stayed there to help him, till we had further advice and orders from the Farmers of the pepper and other spices and wares. Of the which goods, we saved a great quantity by means of duckers [*divers*] and instruments that we used: having advices from the Farmers and the King, that it should not be long before they sent for us, willing us to stay there and to look unto the goods.

This staying and fetching us away, continued, as I said before, for the space of two years and a half; whereby you may consider the good order and policy of the Admiralty of Portugal, and with what diligence and care they seek for the common profit of the land, and the poor Merchants of the country: whom they ought to favour and help as much as they possibly may; but they do clean contrary, as those which deal in Portugal do well find.

The [3*rd O. S.*] 13th [*N. S.*] of August, the ships came back again to the island of Terceira, because they had a contrary wind, as also for want of fresh water: but they anchored not.

The day before [*i.e., 2nd of August, O. S., see pp.* 93, 188], the Earl of CUMBERLAND, with six or seven ships of war, sailed by the island of Terceira; and to their good fortune, passed out of sight: so that they despatched themselves in all haste;

and, for the more security, took with them 400 Spaniards of those that lay in the garrison in the island.

With them, they sailed towards Lisbon, having a good wind; so that within an eleven days after, they arrived in the river of Lisbon, with great gladness and triumph. For if they had stayed but one day longer before they had entered the river, they had all been taken by Sir FRANCIS DRAKE; who, with forty ships came before Cascaes, at the same time that the Indian ships cast anchor in the river of Lisbon; being guarded thither by divers galleys.

Now, by the discourse of this long and perilous voyage [*which as regards the* Santa Cruz, *the quickest of the five Carracks, lasted from* 20*th January to the* 24*th August* 1589 *N.S.*, 217 *days; against the smoother voyage outward, in* 1583, *of the* San Salvador, *in* 166 *days, see pp.* 19, 20], you may sufficiently perceive how that only, by the grace and special favour of GOD, the Indian ships do perform their voyages; yet with great misery, pain, labour, loss, and hindrance; whereby man may likewise consider the manner of their navigation, ordinances, customs, and governments of their ships. So that in comparison of many other voyages, this present voyage may be esteemed a happy and prosperous one. For oftentimes it chanceth that but one or two, of the five that yearly sail to India come safe home; as of late it hath been seen: some being taken, and some lost altogether by their own follies and bad order.

The Azores.

THEY are called *Azores*, that is to say, "Spar-hawks," or "Hawks," because that, in their first discovery, they found many Sparhawks in them, whereof they hold the name: although at this day, there are not any to be found. They are also called the Flemish Islands, *i.e.*, of the Netherlanders: because the first that inhabited the same were Netherlanders; whereof, till this time, there is a great number of their offspring remaining, that, in manner and behaviour, are altogether like Netherlanders.

The principal island of them all, is that of Terceira, called *Insula de Jesus Christ de Terceira.* It is between fifteen or

sixteen miles in compass; and is altogether a great cliff of land, whereby there is little room in it. For it is, as it were, walled round about with cliffs; but where any strand or sand is, there standeth a fort. It hath no havens, nor entrance of waters, for the security and safety of the ships; except that before the chief town, called Angra: where it hath an open haven which, in form, is like a Half Moon, by the Portuguese called *Angra*; whereof the town hath its name. It hath on the one side, in the manner of an elbow sticking forth, two high hills, called Bresil, which stretch into the sea; so that, afar off, they seem to be divided from the island. These hills are very high; so that a man, being upon them, in clear weather, may see at the least ten, twelve, and sometimes fifteen miles into the sea.

Upon these hills, there stand two small stone pillars, where there is a sentinel placed, that continually watcheth to see what ships are at sea; and so to advertise those of the island.

For as many ships as he seeth coming out of the West, that is, from the Spanish Indies [*Central America and the West Indies*] or Brazil, Cape de Verde, Guinea, and the Portuguese Indies, and all other ways lying south or west; for every ship, he setteth a flag upon the pillar in the west. And when the ships, which he descrieth, are more than five, then he setteth up a great Ancient [*ensign*]; betokening a great fleet of ships.

The like he doth upon the other pillar, which standeth in the East, for such ships as come from Portugal or other places out of the east or north parts.

These pillars may be easily seen in all places of the town, by reason of the highness of the hills; so that there is not one ship or sail that is at sea that maketh towards the island, but it is presently [*at once*] known throughout all the town, and over all the island. For the watch is not holden only upon those two hills jutting into the sea, but also upon all corners, hills, and cliffs throughout the island; and as soon as they perceive any ships, the Governer and rulers are presently advertised thereof, that they may take such order therein, as need requireth.

Upon the furthest corner in the sea stands a fort, right against another fort that answereth it; so that those two

forts do shut and defend the mouth or open haven of the town; and no ship can neither go in or come forth without the licence of two forts [*see Vol. I. p.* 271].

This town of Angra is not only the chief town of Terceira, but also of all towns within the islands thereabouts. Therein are resident, the Bishop, the Governor for the King, and the chief place of judgement or tribunal seat of all the islands of the Azores.

All the islands of the Azores are inhabited by the Portuguese; but since the troubles in Portugal [*i.e.*, *since* 1580, *when* PHILIP *II. acceded to the Portuguese throne*], there have been divers Spanish soldiers sent thither, and a Spanish Governor, that keep all the forts and castles in their possession: although the Portuguese are put to no charges, nor yet hardly used by them. For the soldiers are rather kept short, so that no one dareth to go out of the town without a licence: and therefore men may quietly travel throughout the island, both day and night, without any trouble.

Likewise, the islanders will not suffer any stranger to travel to see the country: and this order was not brought up by the Spaniards, but by the Portuguese themselves before their troubles. For they would not permit it. And what is more, all strangers that came thither, were usually appointed a certain street, wherein they should sell their wares; and they might not go out of that street. Now, it is not so straitly looked unto, but they may go in all places of the town, and within the island: but not about it, to view the coast. Which, notwithstanding, was granted to us by the Governor himself, who lent us his horses to ride about; and gave us leave to see all the forts: which, at this time, is not permitted to the natural born islanders; neither are they so much credited.

We rode about the island twice, which he granted us leave to do, by means of a certain particular friendship we had with him: neither could the Portuguese hinder us therein, because we were in the King's service, as "Factors for the King's Pepper," and because they held and accounted us as natural born Portuguese. For the Governor would willingly have had me to have drawn a plot [*map*] of the whole island, that he might have sent it to the King: wherein I excused myself; yet I made him one of the town, with the haven,

coming in, and forts of Angra, which he sent to the King: for which the Governor was greatly affected unto me, and showed me much friendship. We had, in our lodging, a French merchant, and a Scot, who willingly would have gone with us, to see the island; but could not be suffered: for the Portuguese think they would take the proportion thereof, and so seek to defeat [*wrest*] them of their right.

Such as are not merchants or workmen in the wood of the islands, wait for the fleets that come and go, to and from the Spanish and Portuguese Indies, Brazil, Cape de Verde, and Guinea, which do commonly come to Terceira to refresh themselves, as situated very fitly for that purpose. So that all the inhabitants do thereby richly maintain themselves, and sell all their wares, as well handiworks as victuals, to those ships: and all the islands roundabout do come to Terceira with their wares to sell them there. For the which cause, the Englishmen and other strangers keep continually about those islands; being assured that all ships, for want of refreshing, must of force, put into those islands: although, at this time [*i.e.*, 1594], many ships do avoid those islands, to the great discommodity both of the islands and the ships.

While I remained in Terceira, the Earl of CUMBERLAND came to Santa Maria (where there are no Spaniards, because it is a stout country like Terceira, and hard to board [*land on*]; whereby the inhabitants themselves are sufficient and able to defend it), to take in fresh water and some other victuals [*see p.* 199]; but the inhabitants would not suffer him to have it, and wounded divers of his men: whereby they were forced to depart, without having anything there.

About seven or eight miles north-north-west from Terceira, lieth the little island called Graciosa, which is but five and six miles in compass. A very pleasant, fine island, full of fruits and all other victuals; so that it not only feedeth itself, but also Terceira and the other islands about it; and hath no other kind of merchandise. It is well built, and inhabited by Portuguese; and hath no soldiers in it because it is not able to bear the charge.

The Earl of CUMBERLAND, while I lay in Terceira, came unto that island [*see pp.* 188-9]; where he in person, with seven or eight in his company, went on land; asking for certain beasts, hens, and other victuals, with wine and fresh water;

which they willingly gave him: and therewith he departed from thence, without doing them any hurt. For the which the inhabitants thanked him; and commended him for his courtesy, and keeping of his promise.

Fayal aboundeth in all sorts of victuals and fish; so that from this island, the most part of the victuals and necessaries come, by whole caravels, to Terceira. It hath likewise much woad, so that many English ships do traffic thither. The principal road and place, is the town of Villa Dorta. There the ships do likewise lie on the open sea under the land, as they do before all the other islands. By this town, there lieth a fortress, but it is of small importance.

And because the inhabitants, of themselves, did offer to defend the island against all enemies; the soldiers, which before that time lay in the fort, were discharged from thence: the islanders complaining that they were not able to maintain, nor lodge them.

The same time that the Earl of CUMBERLAND was in the island of Graciosa, he came likewise to Fayal [*see pp.* 190-4], where, at the first time, that he came, they began to resist him; but, by reason of some controversy between them, they let him land: where he razed the castle to the ground, and sank all their ordnance in the sea; taking with him, certain caravels and ships that lay in the road, with provisions of all things that he wanted, and therewith departed again to sea.

Whereupon, the King caused the principal actors therein to be punished; and sent out a company of [Spanish] soldiers; which went out of Terceira, with all kind of warlike munition and great shot: who made up the fortress again, the better to defend the island, trusting no more to the Portuguese.

In that island, are the most part of the Netherlanders' offspring; yet they use the Portuguese language, by reason they have been so long conversant among them; and those that used the Dutch tongue are all dead. They are great affected [*very kind*] to the Netherlanders and strangers.

Between Corvo and Flores [70 *miles west of Terceira*], and round about them, the Englishmen do commonly stay, to watch the ships that come out of the West: for those are the first islands that the ships look out for and descry, when they sail into Terceira.

Of certain notable and memorable incidents that happened during LINSCHOTEN's *continuance in Terceira, from October* 1589, *to July* 1592.

1589.

THE 2nd of October, *anno* 1589 [*N.S.*], at the town of Villa da Praya in the island of Terceira, two men being in a field hard without the town, were killed with lightning.

The 9th of the same month, there arrived in Terceira [*O.S.*, *see p.* 197] fourteen ships that came from the Spanish Indies, laden with cochineal, hides, gold, silver, pearls, and other rich wares. There were fifty in company when they departed out of Havanna: whereof, in their coming out of the Channel, eleven sank in the Channel by foul weather; and the rest, by a storm, were scattered and separated one from the other.

The next day [10*th*], there came another ship of the same company, that sailed close under the island so to get into the road: where she met with an English ship that had not above three cast pieces; and the Spaniard had twelve. They fought a long time together; which we, being in the island, might stand and behold. Whereupon the Governor of Terceira sent two boats of musketeers to help the ship: but before they could come to her, the English ship had shot her under water; and we saw her sink into the sea, with all her sails up, so that not anything was seen of her above the water.

The Englishmen, with their boat, saved the Captain and about thirty others with him; but not one pennyworth of the goods: and yet in the ship, there was, at the least, to the value of 200,000 ducats [=*about* £55,000 *then* = *about* £330,000 *now*] in gold, silver, and pearls. The rest of the men were drowned, which might be about fifty persons;

among the which were some friars and women, which the English would not save. Those that they did save, they set on land; and then they sailed away.

The [17*th O.S.*] 27th [*N.S.*] of the same month, the said fourteen ships, having refreshed themselves in the island, departed from Terceira towards Seville; and coming upon the coast of Spain, they were taken by the English ships that lay there to watch for them, two only excepted, which escaped away. The rest were wholly carried into England.

About the same time, the Earl of CUMBERLAND, with one of the Queen's ships, and five or six more, kept about those islands: and oftentimes came so close under the island and to the road of Angra, that the people on land might easily tell all his men that he had aboard, and knew such as walked on the hatches; they of the island not once shooting at them, although they might easily have done it, for they were within musket shot both of the town and fort.

In these places, he continued for the space of two months [*or rather, from* 11*th August to* 10*th November N.S.*], sailed round about the islands, and landed in Graciosa and Fayal, as in the descriptions of those islands [*pp.* 100-1] I have already declared. Here he took divers ships and caravels, which he sent into England: so that those of the island durst not once put forth their heads.

At the same time, about three or four days after the Earl of CUMBERLAND had been in the island of Fayal, and was departed thence [*which was on the* 16*th O.S., or* 26*th, N.S., September,* 1589 *pp.* 193-4], there arrived there six [West] Indian ships, whose General was one JUAN DORIVES, and there they discharged on that island 40,000,000 [*ducats = about* £10,000,000 (*ten millions sterling*) *then = about* £60,000,000 (*sixty millions sterling*) *now*] of gold and silver.

Having, with all speed, refreshed their ships; fearing the coming of the Englishmen, they set sail, and arrived safely in San Lucar de Barrameda, not meeting with the enemy; to the great good luck of the Spaniards, and hard fortune of the Englishmen. For that, within less than two days after the gold and silver were laden again into the Spanish ships, the Earl of CUMBERLAND sailed again by that island [*viz., on* 23*rd September, O.S., or* 3*rd October, N.S.,* 1589, *pp.* 194-7]. So that it appeared that GOD would not let them have it: for

if they had once had sight thereof, without doubt it had been theirs; as the Spaniards themselves confessed.

In the month of November, there arrived in Terceira, two ships, which were the admiral and vice-admiral of the fleet, ladened with silver; who, with stormy weather, were separated from the fleet, and had been in great torment and distress, and ready to sink. For they were forced to use all their pumps, so that they wished, a thousand times, to have met with the Englishmen: to whom they would willingly have given their silver and all that ever they brought with them; only to save their lives. Although the Earl of CUMBERLAND lay still about those islands: yet they met not with him: so that, after much pain and labour, they got into the road before Angra: where, with all speed, they unladed and discharged above 5,000,000 of silver [*i.e.*, *to the value of* 5,000,000 (*five millions*) *of ducats* = *about* £1,500,000 (*a million and a half sterling*) *then* = *about* £9,000,000 (*nine millions sterling*) *now*]; all in pieces of 8 lbs. to 10 lbs. weight. So that the whole quay lay covered with plates, and chests of silver full of Rials of Eight, most wonderful to behold. Each million being ten hundred thousand ducats; besides gold, pearls, and other precious stones, which were not registered.

The Admiral and Chief Commander of those ships and that fleet, called ALVARO FLORES DE QUINIONES, was sick of a disease (whereof, not long, after he died in Seville) was brought to land.

He brought with him the King's broad seal, and full authority to be General and Chief Commander upon the seas, and of all fleets and ships, and of all places, islands, or land wheresoever he came to. Whereupon, the Governor of Terceira did him great honour.

Between them, it was concluded that, perceiving the weakness of their ships, and the danger through the Englishmen, they would send the ships empty, with soldiers to convey them, either to Seville or Lisbon, whichever they could first arrive at, with advice to His Majesty of all that had passed; and that he would give order to fetch the silver with a good and safe convoy. Whereupon, the said ALVARO FLORES stayed there, under colour of keeping the silver; but specially because of his disease, and that they were afraid of the Englishmen. This ALVARO FLORES had alone, for his own

part, above 50,000 ducats [= *about* £13,000 *then* = *about* £100,000 *now*] in pearls: which he shewed unto us, and sought to sell them; or barter them with us, for spices or bills of exchange.

The said two ships set sail, with 300 or 400 men, as well soldiers as others, that came with them out of [the West] India: and being at sea, had a storm, wherewith the admiral burst asunder, and sank in the sea; not one man saved. The vice-admiral cut down her mast, and ran the ship on ground hard by Setubal, where it burst in pieces: and some of the men, saving themselves by swimming, brought the news; the rest were drowned.

In the same month [*November* 1589], there came two great ships out of the Spanish Indies, that, within half a mile of the road of Terceira, met with an English ship; which, after they had fought long together, took them both.

[The following history of the English ship and her crew is very extraordinary.]

About seven or eight months before [*i.e.*, *about April* 1589], there had been an English ship in Terceira, that, under the name of a Frenchman, came to traffic in the island, there to lade wood: and being discovered, both ship [*p.* 190] and goods were confiscated to the King's use; and all the men kept prisoners. Yet went they up and down the streets to get their living, by labouring like slaves; being indeed as safe in that island, as if they had been in prison.

But, in the end, upon a Sunday [31*st of August, O.S., see p.* 190; 10*th September, N.S.*], all the sailors went down behind the hills, called Bresil, where they found a fisher-boat; whereinto they got, and rowed into [*out to*] the sea, to the Earl of CUMBERLAND's ship, which, to their great fortune, chanced, at that time, to come by the island [*see p.* 190]; and who had anchored, with his ships, about half a mile from the road of Angra, hard by two small islands, which lie about a base's shot from the island, and are full of goats, bucks, and sheep, belonging to the inhabitants of Terceira. Those sailors knew it well, and thereupon they rowed unto them with their boats; and lying at anchor, that day, they fetched as many goats and sheep as they had need of: which those of the town and island saw well, yet durst not once go forth.

So there remained no more on land, but the Master, and

the Merchant [*Supercargo*] of the said English ship. This Master had a brother-in-law dwelling in England; who, having news of his brother's imprisonment in Terceira, got licence of the Queen of England to set forth a ship: therewith to see if he could recover his losses of the Spaniards, by taking some of them; and so to redeem his brother, that lay prisoner in Terceira. And he it was, that took the [above] two Spanish ships before the town [*in November* 1589]; the Master of the aforesaid ship, standing on the shore by me, and looking upon them; for he was my great acquaintance.

The ships being taken, that were worth 300,000 ducats [=£80,000 *then*=£480,000 *now*]; he sent all the men on land, saving only two of the principal gentlemen whom he kept aboard, thereby to ransom his brother: and sent the [Spanish] Pilot of one of the [two West] Indian ships that were taken, with a letter to the Governor of Terceira, wherein he wrote that "He should deliver him his brother, and he would send the two gentlemen on land. If not, he would sail with them into England." As indeed he did: because the Governor would not do it; saying that "The gentlemen might make that suit to the King of Spain himself."

This Spanish Pilot, and the English Master likewise, we bade to supper with us: where the Pilot shewed us all the manner of their fight; much commending the order and manner of the Englishmen's fighting, as also for their courteous using of him.

But, in the end, the English Master likewise stole away in a French ship, without paying any ransom as yet [*i.e., up to July* 1592].

1590.

In the month of January 1590, there arrived one ship alone [*by itself*] in Terceira, that came from the Spanish Indies; and brought the news that there was a fleet of a hundred ships, which put out from the Firm Land [*the Spanish Main, or Central America*] of the Spanish Indies: and by a storm, were driven upon the coast, called Florida; where they were all cast away, she having only escaped. Wherein there were great riches, and many men lost; as may well be thought.

So that they made their account, that of 220 ships that, for certain, were known to have put out of New Spain [*Mexico*]

Santo Domingo, Havana, Cape de Verde, Brazil, Guinea, &c., in the year 1589, to sail for Spain and Portugal: there were not above 14 or 15 of them, that arrived there in safety. All the rest, were either drowned, burst [*foundered*], or taken.

In the same month of January, there arrived in Terceira, 15 or 16 ships that came from Seville; which were mostly Fly-boats of the Low Countries, and some Breton ships, that were arrested in Spain. These came full of soldiers and well appointed with munition, by the King's commandment, to lade the silver that lay in Terceira; and to fetch ALVARO DE FLORES to Spain.

And because, at that time of the year, there are always storms about those islands, therefore they durst not enter into the road of Terceira. For as then it blew so great a storm, that some of their ships that had anchored, were forced to cut down their masts, and were in danger of being lost: and among the rest, a ship of Biscay ran against the land, and was stricken in pieces; but all the men saved themselves.

The other ships were forced to keep the sea, and separated themselves the one from the other, where wind and weather would drive them, until the 15th of March [1590]. For that, in all that time, they could not have one day of fair weather to anchor in: whereby they endured much misery; cursing both the silver and the island.

This storm being passed; they chanced to meet with a small English ship, of about 40 tons in bigness, which, by reason of the great wind, could not bear all her sails; so they set upon her and took her: and with the English flag in their admiral's [*flag ship's*] stern, they came as proudly into the haven, as if they had conquered all the realm of England. But as the admiral, that bare the English flag upon her stern, was entering into the road; there came, by chance, two English ships by the island that paid her so well for her pains, that they were forced to cry *Misericordia!* and without all doubt, had taken her, if she had been a mile further in the [*out at*] sea. But because she got under the fortress, which also began to shoot at the Englishmen, they were forced to leave her, and to put further into the sea; having slain five or six of the Spaniards.

The Englishmen that were taken in the small ship, were put under hatches, and coupled in bolts. After they had

been prisoners three or four days [*i.e.*, *about* 18*th of March* 1590 *N.S.*], there was a Spanish Ensign-bearer in the ship, that had a brother slain in the fleet that came for England [*the Armada of* 1588], who (then minding to revenge his death, and withal to shew his manhood to the English captives that were in the English ship, which they had taken as is aforesaid) took a poinard in his hand, and went down under the hatches; where, finding the poor Englishmen sitting in bolts; with the same poinard he stabbed six of them to the heart: which two others of them perceiving, clasped each other about the middle because they would not be murdered by him, and threw themselves into the sea, and there were drowned.

This act was much disliked and very ill taken of all the Spaniards; so they carried the Spaniard a prisoner unto Lisbon: where, being arrived, the King of Spain willed that he should be sent to England, that the Queen of England might use him as she thought good; which sentence, his friends got reversed. Notwithstanding he commanded that he should, without all favour, be beheaded: but upon a Good Friday [? *in* 1590 *or* 1591], the Cardinal going to *Mass*; all the Captains and Commanders made so great entreaty for him, that, in the end, they got his pardon.

This I thought good to note, that men may understand the bloody and dishonest minds of the Spaniards, when they have men under their subjection.

The same two English ships which followed the Spanish Admiral till he had got under the fort of Terceira, as I said before, put into the [*out to*] sea; where they met with another Spanish ship, being of the same fleet, that had likewise been scattered by the storm, and was [the] only [one] missing, for the rest lay in the road.

This small ship the Englishmen took, and sent all the men on shore, not hurting any of them; but if they had known what had been done unto the aforesaid English captives, I believe they would soon have revenged themselves: as, afterwards, many innocent soul paid for it.

This ship, thus taken by the Englishmen, was the same that was kept and confiscated in the island of Terceira; the Englishmen of which got out of the island in a fisher-boat, as I said before [*p.* 105]; and was sold to the Spaniards that then came from the [West] Indies [*p.* 103]; wherewith they

sailed to San Lucar de Barrameda: where it was also arrested by the Duke, and appointed to go in the company to fetch the silver in Terceira, because it was the ship that sailed well; but among the Spaniards' fleet, it was the meanest of the company. By this means, it was taken from the Spaniards and carried into England; and the owners had it again, when they least thought of it.

The 19th of March, the aforesaid ships, being nineteen in number, having laden the King's silver, and received ALVARO FLORES DE QUINIONES with his company, and a good provision of necessaries and munition; and of soldiers that were fully resolved, as they made shew, to fight valiantly to the last man, before they would yield or lose their riches.

Although they set their course for San Lucar, the wind drave them to Lisbon. Which, as it seemed, was willing by his force to help them, and to bring them thither in safety: although ALVARO DE FLORES, both against the wind and weather, would, perforce, have sailed to San Lucar; but being constrained by the wind, and the importunity of the sailors (who *protested* they would require their losses and damages of him), he was content to sail to Lisbon. From whence, the silver was carried by land to Seville.

At Cape St. Vincent, there lay a fleet of twenty English ships, to watch for this *armada*; so that if they had put into San Lucar, they had fallen right into their hands: which if the wind had served, they had done. And, therefore, they may say that the wind had lent them a happy voyage.

For if the Englishmen had met with them, they had surely been in great danger; and possibly but few of them had escaped, by reason of the fear wherewith they were possessed that "Fortune, or rather, GOD was wholly against them." Which is a sufficient cause, to make the Spaniards out of heart; and, on the contrary, to give the Englishmen more courage, and to make them bolder. For they are victorious, stout, and valiant; and all their enterprises do take so good effect, that they are, thereby, become Lords and Masters of the Sea, and need care for no man: as it well appeareth, by this brief Discourse.

In the month of March 1590, there was a blazing star [*a Comet*] with a tail, seen in Terceira, that continued four nights together, stretching the tail towards the south.

In the month of May, a caravel of Fayal arrived in the haven or road of Angra, at Terceira, ladened with oxen, sheep, hens, and other kinds of victuals; and full of people. She had, by a storm, broken her rudder; whereby the sea cast her about, and there she sank. In her, were drowned three children and a Franciscan friar. The rest of the men saved themselves by swimming, and by help from the shore; but the cattle and hens came drowned to land.

The friar was buried with a great procession and solemnity; being esteemed a saint, because he was taken up dead with his book between his arms: for the which cause, every man came to look on him as a miracle, giving great offerings, to say *masses* for his soul.

[What now follows is an enormous falsehood, being apparently only an exaggerated rumour of CAVENDISH's Expedition to the South Seas, 21st July, 1586—10 September 1588.

The 1st of August [1590] the Governor of Terceira received advices out of Portugal and Spain, that two years before the date of his letters [*i.e.*, *in* 1588], there sailed out of England twelve great well-appointed ships; with full resolution to take their journey, seven of them to the Portuguese Indies, and the other five to Malacca. Of which, five were cast away in the Straits of Magellan, and three sailed to Malacca: but what they had done there, was as then not known.

[LINSCHOTEN's friend AFHUISEN, who left Malacca, at a much later date, *viz.*, about December 1588, *p.* 118, was then at Angra; and would, of course, be able to contradict this part of this immense offspring of fear.]

The other seven passed the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived in India, whither they put in at the coast of Malabar, and there took six foists of the Malabars, but let them go again; and [? *where*], two Turkish galleys that came out of the Straits of Mecca or Red Sea, to whom likewise they did no hurt. And there [? *where*], they laded their ships with spices, and returned back again on their way: but where, or in what place they had ladened, it was not certainly known[!]. Saving only, that this much was written by the Governor of India; and sent over land to Venice, and from thence to Madrid.

The 7th of August, a navy of English ships was seen before Terceira, being twenty in number, and five of them Queen's ships. Their General was one Sir MARTIN FROBISHER; as we, after, had intelligence. They came purposely to watch for the Fleet of the Spanish Indies, for the [Portuguese] Indian ships, and for the ships of the countries in the West.

Which put the islanders in great fear, specially those of Fayal. For the Englishmen had sent a Trumpeter to the Governer there, to ask for certain wine, flesh, and other victuals, for their money and good friendship. They of Fayal, did not only refuse to give ear to them; but with a shot, killed their messenger or trumpeter: which the English took in evil part, sending them word that "They were best to look to themselves, and stand upon their guard; for they meant to come and visit them, whether they would or not." The Governor there made them answer, that "He was there on the behalf of His Majesty of Spain; and that he would do his best to keep them out." But nothing was done: although they of Fayal were in no little fear; sending to Terceira for aid: from whence, they had certain barks with powder and munition for war, together with some biscuit and other necessary provision.

The 30th of August, we received very certain news out of Portugal, that there were eighty ships put out of the Corunna [*called by the English, the Groine*], laden with victuals, munition, money, and soldiers, to go for Brittany; to aid the Catholics and Leaguers of France against the King of Navarre.

At the same time, two Netherland Hulks coming out of Portugal to Terceira, being half over the seas, met with four of the Queen's ships, their General being Sir JOHN HAWKINS, that stayed them; but let them go again, without doing them any harm.

The Netherlanders reported that "Each of the Queen's ships had eighty pieces of ordnance; that Sir FRANCIS DRAKE lay with forty ships in the English Channel watching for the *armada* from the Corunna; and that likewise, there lay at Cape St. Vincent ten other English ship, that if any of the ships escaped from the Islands [*i.e., the Azores*] they might take them."

This tidings put the islanders in great fear; lest if they

failed of the Spanish fleet, and got nothing by them, they would then fall upon the Islands, as they would not return empty: whereupon they held straight watch, sending advices to the King, of the news they had heard.

The 1st of September, there came to the island of St. Michael, a Portuguese ship out of the haven of Pernambuco in Brazil, which brought news that the Admiral of the Portuguese fleet that came from India, having missed the island of St. Helena, was, of necessity, constrained to put into Pernambuco: although the King had expressly, under a great penalty, forbidden him so to do; because of the worms, that do there spoil the ships.

The same ship, wherein BERNADINE RIBERO was Admiral, the year before [1589], sailed out of Lisbon to the Indies, with five ships in her company; whereof but four got to India; the fifth was never heard of, so that it was thought to be cast away. The other four returned safe again to Portugal [this year 1590]: though the admiral was much spoiled, because he met with two English ships that fought long with him, and slew many of his men; but yet he escaped from them.

The 5th of the same month, there arrived at Terceira, a caravel of the island of Corvo, and brought with her 50 men that had been spoiled by the Englishmen, who had set them on shore in the island of Corvo; having taken them out of a ship that came from the Spanish Indies.

They brought tidings that "The Englishmen had taken four more of the [West] Indian ships, and a Caravel of Advices with the King of Spain's Letters of Advices for the ships [*Carracks*] coming out of the Portugal Indies. And that, with those which they had taken, there were at the least forty English ships together; so that not one bark escaped them, but fell into their hands."

Therefore the Portuguese ships coming out of India durst not put into the Islands; but took their course under 40° N., and 42° N., and from thence sailed to Lisbon; shunning likewise the Cape St. Vincent: otherwise they could not have had a prosperous journey of it; for that then, the sea was full of English ships.

Whereupon, the King advised the fleet lying at Havanna in the Spanish Indies, ready to come for Spain, that they

should stay there all that year, till the next year; because of the great danger they might fall into by the Englishmen.

Which was no small charge and hindrance to the fleet, for the ships that lie there, do consume themselves, and in a manner eat up one another; by reason of the great number of people, together with the scarcity of all things. So that many ships chose rather, one by one, to adventure themselves alone, to get home than to stay there. All which fell into the Englishmen's hands; the men of divers of which, were brought to Terceira. For, for a whole day, we could see nothing else but spoiled men set on shore, some out of one ship, some out of another, that it was a pity to see all of them cursing the English and their own fortunes; with those that had been the causes to provoke the Englishmen to fight: and complaining of the small remedy and order taken therein by the King of Spain's Officers.

The 19th of the same month, there came a caravel of Lisbon to Terceira, with one of the King's Officers, to cause the goods that were saved out of the ship that came from Malacca (for the which, we stayed there) to be ladened and sent to Lisbon.

At the same time, there put out of the Corunna, one Don ALONSO DE BASSAN, with 40 great Ships of war, to come to the islands [of the Azores], there to watch for the fleets of the Spanish and Portuguese Indies: and the goods of the Malacca ship being ladened, they were to convoy them all together to the river of Lisbon. But being certain days at sea, always with a contrary wind, they could not get unto the Islands. Only two of them, scattered from the fleet, arrived at Terceira; and, not finding the fleet, they presently returned back to seek them.

In the meantime, the King changed his mind, and caused the fleet to stay in [West] India, as I said before; and therefore he sent word unto Don ALONSO DE BASSAN that he should return again to Corunna, which he presently did: without doing anything, or once approaching near the islands, saving only the two foresaid ships. For he well knew that the Englishmen lay by the island of Corvo; but he would not visit them. So he returned to the haven of Corunna; whereby our goods that come from Malacca were yet to ship; and being trussed up again, we were forced to stay a more fortunate time, with patience.

The 23rd of October, there arrived at Terceira, a caravel with advices out of Portugal, that of the five ships which [about April] in the year 1590, were laden in Lisbon, for the the [East] Indies, four of them were turned back again to Portugal, after they had been four months abroad: and that the admiral, wherein the Viceroy, called MATTHIAS D'ALBUQUERQUE, sailed, had only got to India: as afterward news thereof was brought overland; having been, at the least, eleven months at sea and never saw land, and came in great misery to Malacca.

In this ship there died by the way, 280 men, according to a note, made by himself and sent to the Cardinal of Lisbon, with the name and surname of every man; together with a description of his voyage and the misery they had endured: which was only done because he would not lose the Government of India; and for that cause, he had sworn either to lose his life, or to arrive in India. As, indeed, he did afterwards: but to the great danger, loss, and hinderance of his company, that were forced to buy it with their lives; and only for want of provisions, as it may well be thought. For he knew full well, that if he had returned back again to Portugal, as the other ships did, he should have been cashiered from his Indian Regiment; because the people began already to murmur at him for his proud and lofty mind.

And among other things, that which shewed his pride the more, he caused to be painted above the gallery of his ship, Fortune, and his own picture with a staff standing by her, as it were, threatening her, with this posy, *Queroque vencas!* that is, "I will have thee to overcome!" which being read by the Cardinal and other gentlemen, that, to honour him, brought him aboard his ship; it was thought to be a point of exceeding folly.

But it is no strange matter among the Portuguese: for they, above all others, must, of force, let the fool peep out of their sleeves; specially when they are in authority. For I knew the said MATTHIAS D'ALBUQUERQUE in India, being a soldier and a Captain; where he was esteemed and accounted for one of the best of them: and much honoured and beloved of all men, as behaving himself courteously to every man; whereby they all desired that he might be Viceroy. But when he had once received his *Patent*, with full power and authority from the

King to be Viceroy; he changed so much from his former behaviour, that by reason of his pride, they all began to fear and curse him; and that, before he departed out of Lisbon: as is often seen in many men, that are advanced into State and dignity.

1591.

The 20th of January, *anno* 1591, there was news brought out of Portugal to Terceira, that the Englishmen had taken a ship that the King had sent to the Portuguese Indies, with advices to the Viceroy, of the returning again of the four ships that should have gone to India. And because those ships were come back again, that ship was stuffed and ladened, as full of goods as it possibly might be; having likewise, in ready money, 500,000 ducats [=*about* £137,500 *then*=£825,000 *now*] in Rials of Eight; besides other wares.

It departed from Lisbon in the month of November 1590, and met with the Englishmen; with whom, for a time, it fought: but, in the end, it was taken and carried into England, with men and all. Yet when they came there, the men were set at liberty; and returned to Lisbon, where the Captain was committed a prisoner; but he excused himself, and was released. With whom, I spake myself; and he made this report to me.

At the same time also, they took a ship that came from the Mine [possibly *Sofala*, *see p.* 17]: and two ships, ladened with pepper and spices, that were to sail into Italy; the pepper alone that was in them being worth 170,000 ducats [= *about* £46,750 *then* = £280,000 *now*]. All these ships were carried into England, and made good prize.

In the month of July, *anno* 1591, there happened an earthquake in the island of St. Michael; which continued [*i.e.*, *at intervals*] from the 26th of July to the 12th of August. In which time, no man durst stay within his house: but fled into the fields, fasting and praying; with great sorrow, because many of their houses fell down. A town, called Villa Franca, was almost clean razed to the ground; all the cloisters and houses shaken to the earth, and some people therein slain. In some places, the land rose up, and the cliffs removed from one place to another; and some hills were defaced, and made even with the ground. The earth-

quake was so strong, that the ships which lay in the road and on the sea, shaked as if the world would have turned round. There also sprang a fountain out of the earth; from whence, for the space of four days, there flowed a most clear water; and, after that, it ceased. At the same time, they heard such thunder and noise under the earth, as if all the devils in hell had been assembled in that place; wherewith many died for fear.

The island of Terceira shook four times together, so that it seemed to turn about: but there happened no misfortune unto it.

Earthquakes are common in these islands. For, about twenty years past, there happened another earthquake: wherein the half of a high hill, that lieth by the same town of Villa Franca, fell down, and covered all the town with earth; and killed many men.

The 25th of August, the King's *Armada*, coming out of Ferrol, arrived at Terceira, being in all thirty ships, Biscayens, Portuguese, and Spaniards; and ten Dutch Fly-boats that were arrested in Lisbon to serve the King: besides other small vessels, *pataxos* that came to serve as messengers from place to place, and to discover [*scout on*] the seas.

The Navy came to stay for, and convoy the ships that should come from the Spanish Indies; and the Fly-boats were appointed, in their turn, to take in the goods that were saved in the lost ship that came from Malacca, and to convey it to Lisbon.

The 13th of September, the said *Armada* arrived at the island of Corvo, where the Englishmen, with about sixteen ships, then lay, staying for the Spanish [West Indian] fleet; whereof some, or the most part were come, and there the English were in good hopes to have taken them.

But when they perceived the King's Army to be strong: the Admiral, being the Lord THOMAS HOWARD, commanded his fleet not to fall upon them; nor any of them once to separate their ships from him, unless he gave commission so to do.

Notwithstanding, the Vice-Admiral, Sir RICHARD GRENVILLE, being in the ship called the *Revenge* [*of* 700 *tons*], went into the Spanish fleet and shot among them, doing them great hurt; and thinking the rest of the company would have

followed: which they did not, but left him there and sailed away. The cause why, could not be known. Which the Spaniards perceiving, with seven or eight ships they boarded her: but she withstood them all, fighting with them, at the least, twelve hours together: and sank two of them, one being a new Double Fly-boat, of 1,200 tons; the other, a Biscayen. But, in the end, by reason of the number that came upon her, she was taken; but their great loss: for they had lost in fighting and by drowning, above four hundred men. Of the Englishmen, there were slain about a hundred; Sir RICHARD GRENVILLE himself being wounded in the brain, whereof he died.

He was borne into the ship called the *San Paulo*, wherein was the Admiral of the fleet, Don ALONSO DE BASSAN. There, his wounds were dressed by the Spanish surgeons; but Don ALONSO himself would neither see him, nor speak with him. All the rest of the Captains and gentlemen went to visit him, and to comfort him in his hard fortune; wondering at his courage and stout heart, for he showed not any sign of faintness, nor changing of colour: but feeling the hour of death to approach, he spake these words in Spanish, and said, *Here die I, RICHARD GRENVILLE, with a joyful and quiet mind, for I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, that hath fought for his country, Queen, religion, and honour: whereby my soul most joyfully departeth out of this body; and shall leave behind it, an everlasting fame of* a valiant and true soldier, that hath done his duty, *as he was bound to do.* [*see p.* 126].

When he had finished these, or such like words, he gave up the ghost, with great and stout courage; and no man could perceive any true sign of heaviness in him.

This Sir RICHARD GRENVILLE was a great and rich gentleman in England, and had great yearly revenues, of his own inheritance: but he was a man very unquiet in his mind, and greatly affected to war, inasmuch, as of his own private motion, he offered his services to the Queen. He had performed many valiant acts, and was greatly feared in these islands [*see p.* 122], and known of every man: but of nature very severe, so that his own people hated him for his fierceness, and spake very hardly of him.

For when they first entered into the Fleet or *Armada*, they

had their great sail in a readiness, and might, possibly enough, have sailed away; for it was one of the best ships for sailing in England. The Master perceiving that the other ships had left them, and followed not after; commanded the great sail to be cut, that they might make away: but Sir RICHARD GRENVILLE threatened both him and all the rest that were in the ship, that if any man laid hand upon it, he would cause him to be hanged. So by that occasion, they were compelled to fight; and, in the end, were taken.

He was of so hard a complexion that, as he continued among the Spanish Captains, while they were at dinner or supper with him, he was carouse three or four glasses of wine; and, in a bravery, take [successively] the glasses between his teeth, and crush them in pieces, and swallow them down, so that oftentimes the blood ran out of his mouth, without any harm at all to him: and this was told me, by divers credible persons that, many times, stood and beheld him.

The Englishmen that were left in the ship, as the Captain of the Soldiers, the Master, and others, were dispersed into divers of the Spanish ships that had taken them: where there had almost arisen a new fight between the Biscayens and the Portuguese: which each of them would have the honour to have first boarded her. So there grew a great noise and quarrel among them, one taking the chief ancient [*ensign*], and the other the flag: and the Captain and every one held his own.

The ships that had boarded her, were altogether out of order and broken; and many of their men hurt: whereby they were compelled to come to the island of Terceira, there to repair themselves. Where, being arrived, I and my chamber-fellow [*i.e.*, *AFHUISEN*], to hear some news, went on board one of the ships, being a great Biscayen, and one of the *twelve Apostles*, whose Captain was called BARTANDONO, that had been General of the Biscayens in the Fleet that went for England [*i.e.*, *the Spanish Armada of* 1588]. He, seeing us, called us up into the gallery; where with great courtesy, he received us: being then set at dinner with the English Captain [*i.e.*, of the Soldiers of the *Revenge*], that sate by him, and had on a suit of black velvet; but he could not tell us anything, for he could speak no other language but English, and Latin, which BARTANDONO could also speak a little.

The English Captain got licence of the Governor, that he might come on land, with his weapon by his side; and was in our lodging, with the Englishman [*i.e.*, *the Merchant or Supercargo*, *mentioned on p.* 106] that was kept prisoner in the island (being of that ship whereof the sailors got away, as I said before). The Governor of Terceira bade him to dinner; and shewed him great courtesy.

The Master likewise, with licence of BARTANDONO, came on shore, and was in our lodging. He had, at the least, ten or twelve wounds, as well in his head as on his body: whereof, after, being at sea between the Islands and Lisbon, he died.

The Captain wrote a letter, wherein he declared all the manner of the fight; and left it with the English Merchant [*or Supercargo*] that lay in our lodging, to send it to the Lord Admiral of England.

This English Captain coming to Lisbon, was there well received, and not any hurt done unto him: but, with good convoy, sent to Setubal: and, from thence, with all the rest of the Englishmen that were taken prisoners, sailed into England.

The Spanish *Armada* stayed at the island of Corvo till the last of September, to assemble the rest of the fleet together; which, in the end, were to the number of 140 sail of ships, partly coming from [the West] India, and partly of the *Armada*. And being all together, ready to sail to Terceira, in good company; there suddenly rose so hard and cruel a storm that those of the island do affirm that, in man's memory, there was not any such seen or heard of before: for it seemed [as if] the sea would have swallowed up the Islands. The water mounted higher than the cliffs, which are so high that it amazeth a man to behold them; but the sea reached above them, and living fishes were thrown upon the land.

This storm continued not a day or two only, with one wind; but seven or eight days continually, the wind turning round about in all places of the compass, at the least, twice or thrice during that time: and all alike with a continual storm and tempest; most terrible to behold, even to us that were on shore, much more then to such as were at sea. So that on the coasts and cliffs of the island of Terceira alone, there were about twelve ships cast away; and that, not upon one side only, but round about it in every corner: whereby,

nothing else was heard but complaining, crying, lamenting, and telling, "Here is a ship broken in pieces against the cliffs!" and "There, another! and the men drowned." So that, for the space of twenty days after the storm, they did nothing else but fish for dead men, that continually came driving on the shore.

Among the rest, was the English ship called the *Revenge*, that was cast away upon a cliff, near to the island of Terceira; where it break into a hundred pieces, and sank to the ground: having in her, seventy men, Gallicians, Biscayens, and others, with some of the captive Englishmen; whereof but one was saved, that got up upon the cliffs alive, and had his body and head all wounded. He, being on shore, brought us the news, desiring to be shriven; and thereupon presently died. The *Revenge* had in her, divers fair brass pieces, that were all sunk in the sea; which they of the island were in good hope to weigh up again.

The next summer after [*i.e.*, 1592], among these ships, that were cast away about Terceira, was likewise a Fly-boat called the *White Dove* (being one of those that had been arrested in Portugal to serve the King), lost there. The Master of her, was one CORNELIUS MARTENSON, of Schiedam in Holland; and there were in her, as in every one of the rest, one hundred soldiers. He, being overruled by their Captain, that he could not be master of his own, sailing here and there at the mercy of GOD, as the storm drove him; in the end, came within sight of the island of Terceira. Which the Spaniards perceiving, thought all their safety only to consist in putting into the road; compelling the Master and Pilot to make towards the island. The Master refused to do it, saying, that "They were most sure there to be cast away, and utterly spoiled": but the Captain called him, "Drunkard! and Heretic!" and striking him with a staff, commanded him to do as he would have him.

The Master seeing this, and being compelled to do it, said, "Well, my masters! seeing it is the desire of you all to be cast away! I can but lose one life!" and therewith desperately, he sailed towards the shore; and was on that side of the island where there was nothing else but hard stones, and rocks as high as mountains, most terrible to behold: where some

of the inhabitants stood, with long ropes and corks bound at the end thereof, to throw them down to the men that they might lay hold upon them and save their lives; but few of them got so near, most of them been cast away, and smitten in pieces, before they could get to the wall.

The ship sailing in this manner towards the island, and approaching to the shore; the Master (being an old man and full of years) called his son, that was in the ship with him, and having embraced one another, and taken their last farewell, the good old father willed his son not to take care for him, but to seek to save himself: "For" said he, "son! thou art young: and may have some hope to save thy life; but as for me, I am old, it is no great matter what becomes of me." Therewith, each of these, shedding many tears (as every loving father and kind child may well consider) the ship fell upon the cliffs, and brake in pieces: the father falling into the sea, on the one side, and the son on the other; each laying hold on that which came next to hand, but to no purpose. For the sea was so high and furious, that they were all drowned, but fourteen or fifteen who saved themselves by swimming, but yet with their legs and arms half broken and out of joint; among the which, were the Master's son, and four other Dutch boys. The rest of the Spaniards and sailors, with the Captain and Master, were drowned.

Whose heart would not melt with, to behold so grievous a sight? especially considering with himself, that the greatest cause thereof was the beastliness and insolency of the Spaniards; as in this only [*single*] example may well be seen.

Whereby may be considered how the other ships sped [*in the previous storm of October* 1591]: as we ourselves did in part behold, and by the men that were saved, did hear more at large; as also some others of our countrymen [*i.e.*, *Dutchmen*] that, then, were in the like danger can well witness.

At the other islands, the loss [*in October* 1591] was no less than in Terceira. For on the island of St. George, there were two ships cast away; on the island of Pico, two ships; on the island of Graciosa, three ships: and besides those, there came everywhere round about, divers pieces of broken ships and other things, fleeting towards the islands; wherewith the sea was all covered, most pitiful to behold.

On the island of St. Michael, there were four ships cast away; and between Terceira and St. Michael, three more were sunk, which were seen, and heard to cry out: whereof not one man was saved. The rest put into the [*out to*] sea, without masts, all torn and rent.

So that of the whole fleet and *armada*, being 140 ships in all, there were but 32 or 33 arrived in Spain and Portugal: yea, and those few with so great misery, pain, and labour that no two of them arrived together; but this day one, and tomorrow another, the next day a third, and so on, one after the other, to the number aforesaid.

All the rest were cast away upon the Islands [*Azores*] and overwhelmed in the sea: whereby may be considered what great loss and hindrance they received at that time. For, by many men's judgements, it was esteemed to be much more than was left by the Army that came for England [*in* 1588]; and it may be well thought and presumed that it was no other but a just plague, purposely sent by GOD upon the Spaniards: and that it might truly be said, the taking of the *Revenge* was justly revenged upon them; and that, not by the might or force of man, but by the power of GOD.

As some of them openly said, in the isle of Terceira, that "They believed, verily, GOD would consume them; and that He took part with Lutherans and heretics." Saying further that "So soon as they had thrown the dead body of the Vice-admiral Sir RICHARD GRENVILLE overboard; they verily thought that, as he had a devilish faith and religion, and therefore that the devils loved him: so he presently sank down into the bottom of the sea, and down into hell, where he raised up all the devils to revenge his death; and that they brought so great storms and torments upon the Spaniards, only [*simply*] because they maintained the Catholic and Romish religion." Such, and such like blasphemies against GOD, they ceased not openly to utter; without any man reproving them nor their false opinions thereon: but the most part of them the rather said, and affirmed that "of truth, it must needs be so."

As one of these Indian fleets put out of New Spain, there were 35 of them, by storm and tempest, cast away and drowned in the sea: so that, out of 50 in all, but 15 escaped.

Of the fleet that came from Santo Domingo, there were 14

cast away, coming out of the Channel of Havanna; whereof the Admiral and Vice-admiral were two. From *Terra firma* in India [*i.e.*, *Central America*], there came two ships ladened with gold and silver; that were taken by the Englishmen. And before the Spanish *Armada* came to Corvo, the Englishmen, at different times, had taken, at the least, 20 ships, that came from Santo Domingo, [West] India, Brazil, &c.; and sent them all to England.

Whereby it plainly appeareth, that, in the end, GOD will assuredly plague the Spaniards: having already blinded them, so that they have not the sense to perceive it, but still to remain in their obstinate opinions. But it is lost labour to strive against GOD, and to trust in man; as being foundations erected upon the sands, which, with the wind, are blown down and overthrown: as we daily see before our eyes, and, not long since, have evidently observed in many places.

Therefore, let every man but look to his own actions! and take our Low Countries for an example: wherein, we can but blame our own sins and wickedness; which doth so blind us, that we wholly forget and reject the benefits of GOD, continuing the servants and yoke slaves of Satan. GOD, of His mercy! open our eyes and hearts! that we may know our only Health and Saviour, JESUS CHRIST; who only can help, govern, and preserve us; and give us a happy end in all our affairs.

LINSCHOTEN'S return home to Enkhuisen.

BY THE destruction of the Spaniards, and their evil success, the lading and shipping of the goods that were saved out of the ship that came from Malacca to Terceira, was again put off: and therefore we must have patience till it please GOD to send a fitter time; and that we received further advices and order from His Majesty of Spain.

All this being thus past, the Farmers and other merchants (seeing that the hope of any *armada* or ships in the King's behalf to be sent to fetch the goods, was all in vain) made request unto His Majesty that he would grant them licence, for every man particularly [*individually*] to ship his goods in

what ship he would, at his own adventure; which, after long suit, was granted in the end: upon condition that every man should put in sureties to deliver the goods into the Custom House at Lisbon, to the end that the King might be paid his custom; as also that the goods, delivered to them in Terceira, should all be registered.

Whereupon, the Farmers of Pepper, with other merchants, agreed with a Flushinger, to fetch all the cloves, nutmegs, mace, and other spices, and goods that belonged to them; excepting only the pepper, which the King as then would not grant to lade.

The same ship arrived at Terceira, about the last of November; and, because it was somewhat dangerous, being the latter end of the year, we laded her with all the speed we could: for then the coast was clear of Englishmen.

To be short. This Flushinger, being ladened with the most part of the goods, saving the pepper; set sail for Lisbon, passing some small storms, not once meeting with any ship; but only on the [Portuguese] coast, where we saw ten Hollanders that sailed with corn towards Leghorn and other places in Italy: and so, by GOD's help! upon the 2nd of January 1592, we arrived in the river of Lisbon; being nine years after my departure from thence.

1592.

There I stayed till the month of July to despatch such things as I had to do: and upon the 17th of the same month, I went to Setubal; where certain Hollanders lay, with whom I went to Holland.

The 22nd of July, we set sail, being in all 12 ships; and because we had a contrary wind, we put out higher into the [*further out to*] sea.

The 27th of the same month, we had a lasting storm, whereby we ran against another ship; both being in a hundred dangers to be sunk, for we were within a span of touching one another: but GOD helped us, and we parted from each other; which almost seemed impossible. For the bore-sprite [*bow-sprit*] of the ship that came against us, strake upon our Fouke-yard; and therewith brake in pieces: and thereupon his Fouke-mast fell overboard; whereby he was forced to leave the fleet. Another also of our company had a leak, so that

he made towards the [Portuguese] coast: where, to save the men, he ran the ship on shore; as, afterwards, we understood. So we remained but ten in company.

The 1st of August, being ninety miles in the [*out at*] sea, because the wind held contrary, so that we could not keep our right course; we espied three strange ships: but it was not long, before we lost the sight of them again.

The 4th of August, there came three other ships among our fleet, which we perceived to be Biscayens: whereupon we made towards them, and shot certain pieces at them; and so they left us.

The 16th of August, the wind being yet contrary, and because there were about fifteen passengers aboard our ship, our victuals, specially our drink, began to fail: so that we were constrained to keep an order, and to stint every man to his portion; being then 120 miles from Heissant [*Ushant*] inwards in the [*out at*] sea, which is called, the Half Sea.

The 18th, we had a storm, whereby three of our fleet were left behind; because they could not follow us.

The 24th of August we cast out the lead, and found ground; wherewith we were all glad, for it was the entrance into the Channel between England and France.

The 27th of August, being in the Channel, there came two small English ships to view our fleet, but presently put in again to the coast of England.

The 28th, we descried land, being loofward from us; which was Goutster and Dartmouth.

The next day, we passed by the Isle of Wight, sailing along the coast.

The 30th of August, we put into the head [Straits] of Dover and Calais; where there lay one of the Queen's ships; but she hoisted anchor, and sailed to the coast of England, without looking after us. So we set four men on shore [*i.e., in England*].

Then we had a scant wind, wherewith we entered into the North Sea; not seeing anybody.

The 1st of September, being cloudy, we had a storm out of the north-west, whereby we could not discern the land: but in the evening, we met with two ships that came out of the East Countries [*Baltic Provinces*], who told us they had seen land saying, "It was the Texel"; willing us to follow them. And

so we discovered land, it being the Vlie: but we, thinking it to be the Texel, would not longer follow the other ships; but put so near unto it, that we were in great danger. Then we perceived that we had deceived ourselves, and saw the other ships take another course towards the Texel: but we had the wind so scant, and were fallen so low, that we could hardly get from the shore. And withal, we had a sudden storm, wherewith our Fouke-mast brake; our mainmast being already cracked: whereupon, we were fully determined to anchor there, and stand upon good comfort and hope in GOD. Suddenly the wind came better, so that with great pain and labour, about sun setting, we entered the mouth of the Texel, without any pilot: for, by reason of the great wind, they durst not come out. So, to conclude, we got in; and there, with thanksgiving to GOD, we anchored.

In the morning, being the 2nd of September, our Gunner thinking to charge the pieces, and, for joy, to shoot them off before the town: by fortune, a ladle full of powder took fire and, and with the fire thereof, strake off all his right hand, and burnt him in many places of his body; wherewith our joy was wholly quailed and abated.

The 3rd of September [*N.S.*], we arrived at Enkhuisen; where I found my mother, brother, and sister, all living and in good health: it being twelve years, nine months and a half, after my departure thence.

For which GOD Almighty, with His Son JESUS CHRIST our Saviour, be praised and blessed! To Whom belongeth all power, honour and glory, now and for evermore.

Amen.

[Sir Richard Grenville's last words concluded: '*But the others of my company have done as traitors and dogs, for which they shall be reproached all their lives and leave a shameful name for ever.*']

Rev. Richard Hakluyt.

The Voyage of the Dog *to the Gulf of Mexico*, 1589.

[*Voyages.*]

A brief remembrance for want of further advertisements as yet, of a voyage made this present year 1589, by William Michelson Captain, and William Mace (of Ratcliff) Master of a ship called the *Dog*, to the Bay of Mexico, in the West Indies.

He foresaid ship called the *Dog*, of 70 tons burden, was armed forth with the number of forty men. I departed from the coast of England in the month of May [1589], directly for the West Indies. It fell in with the Bay of Mexico, and there met with divers Spanish ships at sundry times; whereof three fell into her lap, and were forced to yield to the mercy of the English.

The last that they met with in the Bay was a Spanish Man of War, whom the English chased; and after three several fights upon three several days, pressed him so far that he entreated a parley, by putting out a flag of trace.

The parley was granted, and certain of the Spaniards came aboard the English ship; where after conference about those matters that had passed in fight betwixt them, they received reasonable entertainment and a quiet farewell.

The Spaniards, as if they had meant to requite the English courtesy, invited our men to their ship; who persuading themselves of good meaning in them, went aboard. But honest and friendly dealing was not their purpose. For suddenly they assaulted our men, and with a dagger stabbing the English pilot to the heart, slew him. Others were served with the like sauce; only William Mace the Master (and two others) notwithstanding all the prepared traps of the

enemy, leaped overboard into the sea, and so came safe to his own ship: and directing his course to England, arrived at Plymouth the 10th of September [1589] last; laden with wines, iron, roans which are a kind of linen cloth, and other rich commodities. Looking also for the arrival of the rest of his consorts; whereof one, and the principal one, hath not long since obtained [*reached*] its port.

Thus much, in general terms only, I have as yet learned and received touching this voyage, as extracted out of letters sent from the foresaid WILLIAM MACE to Master EDWARD WILKINSON of Tower Hill in London.

My principal intention by this example is to admonish our nation of circumspection in dealing with that subtle enemy; and never to trust the Spanish further than that their own strength shall be able to master them. For otherwise whosoever shall through simplicity trust their courtesy shall by trial taste of their assured cruelty.

The destruction, capture, &c. of Portuguese Carracks, by English seamen.

1592-1594 *A.D.*

R. HAKLUYT. *Voyages*, III., 194, Ed. 1600.

The fullest and most exact description in this volume of the annual Fleets, usually consisting of five Carracks, that went from Lisbon to Goa and back, is that written by LINSCHOTEN, who made the voyage in the years 1582-1592. The following events occurred after LINSCHOTEN reached Lisbon, on 2nd January 1592.

Some additional particulars from a very rare tract, *The Seaman's Triumph*, London 1592 4to, are given in the footnotes.

A true Report of the honourable Service at sea performed by Sir JOHN BURROUGH *Knight, Lieutenant General of the Fleet prepared by the Honourable Sir* WALTER RALEGH *Knight, Lord Warden of the Stanneries of Cornwall and Devon. Wherein, chiefly, the* Santa Clara *of Biscay, a ship of* 600 *tons, was taken: and the two East Indian Carracks, the* Santa Cruz *and the* Madre de Dios, *were forced; the one burnt, the other taken and brought into Dartmouth the 7th of September* 1592.

IR WALTER RALEGH, upon Commission received from Her Majesty for an Expedition to be made to the West Indies, slacked not his uttermost diligence to make full provision of all things necessary: as, both in his choice of good ships, and [of] sufficient men to perform the action, evidently appeared. For [of] his ships, which were in number fourteen or fifteen, those two of

Her Majesty's, the *Garland* and the *Foresight*, were the chiefest. The rest [were] either his own, or his good friends', or [belonged to] Adventurers of London. For the Gentlemen his consorts and Officers, to give them their right, they were so well qualited in courage, experience, and discretion as the greatest Prince might repute himself happy to be served with their like.

The honour of Lieutenant General was imposed upon Sir JOHN BURROUGH, a Gentleman, for his manifold good and heroical parts, thought every way worthy of that commandment. With whom, after Sir WALTER RALEGH returned, was joined in Commission, Sir MARTIN FROBISHER: who, for his special skill and knowledge in marine causes, had formerly carried employments of like, or greater, place. The rest of the Captains, soldiers, and sailors were men of notable resolution; and, for the most part, such as heretofore had given to the World sufficient proof of their valour in divers Services of the like nature.

With these ships, thus manned, Sir WALTER RALEGH departed towards the West country, there to store himself with such further necessaries as the state of his Voyage [*Expedition*] did needfully require. Where the westerly winds, blowing for a long time contrary to his course, bound and constrained him to keep harbour so many weeks that the fittest season for his purpose was gone; the minds of his people, much altered; his victuals, consumed: and withal Her Majesty, understanding how crossly all this sorted, began to call the procedings of this preparation into question.

Insomuch that, whereas the 6th of May [1592] was first come before Sir WALTER could put to sea; the very next day, Sir MARTIN FROBISHER, in a Pinnance of my [Lord HOWARD of Effingham, the] Lord Admiral's, called the *Disdain*, met him: and brought to him, from Her Majesty, Letters of Revocation, with commandment to relinquish for his own part, the intended attempt; and to leave the charge and conduct of all things in the hands of Sir JOHN BURROUGH and Sir MARTIN FROBISHER.

But Sir WALTER (finding his honour so far engaged in the undertaking of this Voyage [*Expedition*] as, without proceeding, he saw no remedy either to salve his reputation; or to content those his friends, which had put in adventures

of great sums with him: and making construction of the Queen's Letters, in such sort, as if her commandment had been propounded in indifferent terms, either to advance forward, or to retire, at his own discretion) would in no case yield to leave his Fleet now under sail.

Wherefore continuing his course into the sea, he met, within a day or two, with certain Sails lately come from Spain. Among which was a ship appertaining to Monsieur GOURDON, Governor of Calais: and [he] found aboard her, one Master NEVEL DAVIES, an Englishman, who (having endured a long and miserable captivity for the space of twelve years [1580-1592]; partly in the Inquisition in Spain) was now, by good fortune, escaped; and upon [his] return to his [own] country.

This man, among other things, reported for certain, That there was little hope of any good this year to be done in the West India: considering that the King of Spain had sent express order to all the ports, both of the Islands and of *Terra firma*, that no ship should stir that year, nor any treasure be laid aboard for Spain.

But neither this unpleasant relation, nor aught else, could stay his proceedings, until a tempest of strange and uncouth violence, arising upon Thursday the 11th of May, when he was athwart Cape Finisterre, had so scattered the greater part of the Fleet, and sunk his boats and Pinnaces: that as the rest were driven and severed, some this way, and some that; Sir WALTER himself, being in the *Garland* of Her Majesty's [Ships], was in danger to be swallowed up of the sea.

Whereupon Sir WALTER RALEGH finding that the season of the year was too far gone to proceed with the enterprise which he had upon Panama, having been held on the English coast from February till May [1592], and thereby spent three months' victuals; and considering withal that to lie upon the Spanish coast, or at the Islands [of the Azores], to attend the return of the East [Indian], or West Indian Fleets, was rather a work of patience than aught else: he gave directions to Sir JOHN BURROUGH and Sir MARTIN FROBISHER to divide the Fleet in two parts. Sir MARTIN with the *Garland*, Captain GEORGE GIFFARD, Captain HENRY THIN, Captain GRENVILLE, and others, to lie off the South Cape [*Cape St Vincent*]; thereby to amaze the Spanish

Fleet, and to hold them on their own coast, while Sir JOHN BURROUGH [in the *Roebuck*], Captain [Sir] ROBERT CROSSE [in the *Foresight*,] Captain THOMSON [in the *Dainty*], and others, should attend the Islands for the Carracks [from Goa] or any other Spanish ships coming from Mexico or other parts of the West Indies.

Which direction took effect [*was effectual*] accordingly. For the King of Spain's Admiral, receiving intelligence that the English Fleet was come on the coast, attended to defend the south parts of Spain, and to keep himself as near Sir MARTIN FROBISHER as he could, to impeach [*hinder*] him in all things which he might undertake: and thereby neglected the safe conduct of the Carracks; with whom it fared as hereafter shall appear.

The *Santa Clara*, a Biscayen ship of 600 tons, taken.

Before the Fleet severed themselves, they met with a great Biscayen on the Spanish coast, called [the] *Santa Clara*, a ship of 600 tons. The noise of the artillery on both sides being heard; immediately they drew to their Fleet. Where, after a reasonably hot fight, the ship was entered and mastered: which they found fraighted with all sorts of small ironwork, as horse-shoes, nails, ploughshares, iron bars, spikes, bolts, locks, gimbols, and such like, valued by us at £6,000 or £7,000 [=£24,000 *to* £30,000 *now*], but worth to them treble the value. This Biscayen was sailing towards San Lucar [de Barrameda, the Port of Seville], there to take in some further provision for the West India.

This ship being first rummaged, and after sent for England: our Fleet coasted along towards the South Cape of St. Vincent.

And, by the way, about the Rock [*Cape da Roca*] near Lisbon, Sir JOHN BURROUGH in the *Roebuck* spying a Sail afar off, gave her present chase: which, being a Fly-boat and of good sail [*a good sailer*], drew him far southwards before he could fetch her; but at last she came under his lee, and struck sail.

The Master of which Fly-boat coming aboard him, confessed, that the King [PHILIP II.] indeed had prepared a great Fleet in San Lucar [de Barrameda] and Cadiz; and, as the report in Spain was current, for the West Indies.

But indeed the Spanish King had provided this Fleet upon this counsel:

He received intelligence that Sir WALTER RALEGH was to put out strong for the West India. To impeach him, and to ranconter [*encounter*] his force; he appointed this Fleet: although, looking for the arrival of his East Indian Carracks, he first ordained those ships to waft [*convoy*] them from the Azores. But persuading himself that if the Fleet of Sir WALTER RALEGH did go for the West India, then the Islands should have none to infest them but small Men of War; which the Carracks of themselves would be well able to match: his order was to Don ALONSO DE BAÇAN, brother to the Marquis of SANTA CRUZ, and General of his Armada, to pursue Sir WALTER's Fleet, and to confront him; what course soever he held.

And that this was true, our men in short time by proof understood. For Sir JOHN BURROUGH (not long after the taking of his last prize, the Fly-boat), as he sailed back again towards the rest of his company, discovered the Spanish Fleet to seaward of him: which, having likewise spied him betwixt them and the shore, made full account to bring him safe into [a] Spanish harbour; and therefore spread themselves in such sort before him, that indeed his danger was very great. For both the liberty of the sea was brought into a narrow straight [*distance*]; and the shore, being enemy [*hostile*] could give him no comfort of relief. So that, trusting to GOD's help only and his good sail [*sailing*], he thrust out from among them, in spite of all their force; and, to the notable illusion of all their cunning, which they shewed to the uttermost in laying the way for his apprehension.

Sir JOHN BURROUGH in great danger of the Spanish Fleet.

But now Sir JOHN BURROUGH, having happily escaped their clutches; finding the coast guarded by this Fleet; and knowing it was but folly to expect a meeting there with Sir MARTIN FROBISHER (who understanding of this Armada, as well as himself, would be sure not to come that way), began to shape his course to the Azores, according to Sir WALTER RALEGH's direction: and came in sight of St. Michael; running so near by Villa Franca, that he might easily discern the ships lying there at anchor.

The Isle of St. Michael.

Divers small Caravels both here and between St George's [Island] and the Pike [*Pico*], in his course towards Flores, he intercepted: of which no great intelligence for his affairs could be understood.

Divers small ships taken.

Arriving before Flores, upon Thursday the 21st of June, towards evening, [in the *Roebuck*], accompanied only by Captain CAUFIELD and the Master of his ship; the rest not being yet arrived: he made towards the shore with his boat: finding all the people of Santa Cruz, a village of that island, in arms; fearing their landing, and ready marshalled to defend their town from spoil.

Santa Cruz, a village in the Isle of Flores.

Sir JOHN, contrariwise, made signs of amity unto them by advancing a white flag, a common token of peace: which was answered again of them with the like. Whereupon ensued intercourses of good friendship; and pledges were taken on both sides, the Captain of the town for them and Captain CAULFIELD for ours. So that whatsoever our men wanted, which that place could supply, either in fresh water, victuals, or the like, was very willingly granted [*i.e. for payment*) by the inhabitants; and good leave had they to refresh themselves on shore, as much and as oft as they would, without restraint.

At this Santa Cruz, Sir JOHN BURROUGH was informed that indeed there was among them no expectation of any Fleet to come from the West: but from the East, that no longer since than three days before his arrival [*i.e.* 18th June 1592] a Carrack was passed by for Lisbon, and that there were four Carracks more behind, of one consort [*company or Fleet*].

News of the East Indian Carracks.

Sir JOHN, being very glad of this news, stayed no longer on shore, but presently embarked himself: having only in company a small Bark, of 60 tons [? the *Phœnix*, see page 139], belonging to one Master HOPKINS of Bristol.

In the meanwhile that these things thus passed at Flores; part of the rest of the English Fleet, which Sir JOHN BURROUGH had left upon the coast of Spain, drew also towards the Azores. And whereas he quickly, at sea, had discovered one of the Carracks [the *Santa Cruz*]: the same evening, he might descry two or three of [GEORGE CLIFFORD] the Earl of CUMBERLAND's ships [*two of them were the* Tiger *and the* Sampson], whereof one Master NORTON was Captain [*or as*

we should now say, Commodore]; which having, in like sort, kenned the Carrack, pursued her by that course which they saw her to run towards the Islands.

But on no side was there any way made, by reason of a great calm which yielded no breath to spread a sail. Insomuch that (fitly to discover her what she was; of what burden, force, and countenance) Sir JOHN BURROUGH took his boat, and rowed the space of three miles, to make her [out] exactly; and, being returned, he consulted with the better sort of the Company then present, upon the boarding [of] her in the morning.

But a very mighty storm arising in the night, the extremity thereof forced them all to weigh anchors; yet their care was such in wrestling with the weather, not to lose the Carrack: [so] that, in the morning (the tempest being qualified, and our men bearing again with the shore), they might perceive the Carrack very near the land; and the Portugals confusedly carrying on shore such things as they could, [in] any manner of way, convey out of her. And seeing the haste our men made to come upon them; [they] forsook her.

A Carrack, called the *Santa Cruz*, set on fire.

But first, that nothing might be left commodious to our men; [they] set fire to that which they could not carry with them: intending by that means, wholly to consume her; that neither glory of victory, nor benefit of ship, might remain to ours.

And lest the approach and industry of the English should bring means to extinguish the flame, thereby to preserve the residue of that which the fire had not destroyed: being 400 of them in number and well armed, they intrenched themselves on land so near the Carrack, that she, being by their forces protected and our men kept aloof off; the fire might continue to the consumption of the whole.

A hundred of our men landed.

This being noted by Sir JOHN BURROUGH; he soon provided a present remedy for this mischief. For landing 100 of his men (whereof many did swim, and wade more than breast high, to shore) and easily scattering those that presented themselves to guard the coast: he no sooner drew towards their new trenches, but they fled immediately; leaving as much as the fire had spared [of the *Santa Cruz*] to be the reward of our men's pains.

Here were taken, among others, one VINCENT FONSECA, a Portugal, Purser of the Carrack; with two others, one an Almain [*German*], and the second a Low Dutchman [*Hollander*] Cannoniers: who, refusing to make any voluntary report of those things which were demanded of them, had the torture threatened; the fear whereof, at the last, wrested from them this intelligence:

That, within fifteen days, three other greater Carracks than that [the *Santa Cruz*] lately fired, would arrive at the same Island [of Flores]. And that being five Carracks in the Fleet at their departure from Goa, to wit, the *Buen Jesus*, Admiral [*Flag Ship*]; the *Madre de Dios*; the *San Bernardo*; the *San Christophoro*; and the *Santa Cruz*, whose fortune you have already heard: they had received special commandment from the King [PHILIP II.] not to touch, in any case, at the Island of St. Helena, where the Portugal Carracks, in their return from the East India, were always, till now, wont to arrive, to refresh themselves with water and victuals. And the King's reason was, because of the English Men of War: who, as he was informed, lay there in wait to intercept them. If therefore their necessity of water should drive them to seek [a] supply anywhere, he appointed them Angola, in the main[land] of Africa; with order there to stay only the taking in of water, to avoid the inconvenience of infections, whereunto that hot latitude is dangerously subject. The last rendezvous for them all was the Island of Flores: where the King assured them not to miss of his Armada, thither sent of purpose for their wafting [*convoy*] to Lisbon.

Angola, a new watering place for the Carracks.

Upon this information, Sir JOHN drew to Council [of War], meeting there Captain NORTON, Captain DOWNTON, Captain ABRAHAM COCKE, Captains of three ships of [GEORGE CLIFFORD,] the Earl of CUMBERLAND; Master THOMSON of Harwich, Captain of the *Dainty* of Sir JOHN HAWKINS's, one of Sir WALTER RALEGH's Fleet; and Master CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT, Captain of the *Golden Dragon*, newly returned from the West Indies; and others.

These being assembled, he communicated with them what he had understood of the foresaid Examinates; and what great presumptions of truth their relation did carry: wishing that forasmuch as GOD and good fortune had brought them

together in so good a season, they would shew the uttermost of their endeavours to bring these Easterlings [*here meaning, the Carracks from the East: an unusual application of a word ordinarily applied to Baltic ships*] under the lee of English obedience.

Hereupon a present accord, on all sides, followed; not to part company, or leave off those seas, till time should present cause to put their consultations in execution.

The next day [? 29th June 1592], Her Majesty's good Ship the *Foresight*, commanded by Sir ROBERT CROSSE, came in to the rest: and he, likewise informed of the matter, was soon drawn into this Service.

Thus Sir JOHN, with all these ships, departing thence [to some] six or seven leagues to the West of Flores; they spread themselves abroad from the North to the South; each ship two leagues, at the least, distant from another. By which order of extension, they were able to discover the space of two whole degrees [= 140 *miles*] at sea.

In this sort, they lay from the 29th of June to the 3rd of August [1592].

[At] what time, Captain THOMSON, in the *Dainty*, had first sight of the huge Carrack, called the *Madre de Dios* [the *Mother of God*]; one of the greatest receipt [*burden*] belonging to the Crown of Portugal.

The *Dainty*, being of excellent sail, got the start of the rest of our Fleet: and began the conflict, somewhat to her cost, with the slaughter and hurt of divers of her men.*

Within a while after, Sir JOHN BURROUGH, in the *Roebuck* of Sir WALTER RALEGH's [Fleet], was at hand to second

* By noon, or one of the clock, of that day, being the 3rd of August [1592], the *Dainty* came near her so that the Gunner, whose name was THOMAS BEDOME (being a proper tall man; and had very good aim at anything, and good luck withal), desired the Captain [THOMSON] he might give them a shoot: to let them understand that they were Englishmen; and, under Her Highness, Commanders of the Seas.

The Captain (having great care; and not willing to have any shoot shot in vain) commanded him to forbear till they should come nearer her; which was not long: when the Captain commanded him to do his best; and carousing a can of wine to his Company, encouraged them to begin the fight.

And coming up, [he] hailed them, after the manner of the sea; and commanded them to strike for the Queen of England: which they no

her: who saluted her with shot of great ordnance, and continued the fight, within musket shot, (assisted by Captain THOMSON [in the *Dainty*] and Captain NEWPORT [in the *Golden Dragon*]) till Sir ROBERT CROSSE, Vice Admiral of the Fleet [there present], came up; [having] been to leeward.

At whose arrival, Sir JOHN BURROUGH demanded of him, What was best to be done?

Who answered, That if the Carrack were not boarded; she would recover the shore, and fire herself, as the other had done.

Whereupon Sir JOHN BURROUGH concluded to entangle her: and Sir ROBERT CROSS promised also to fasten himself [in the *Foresight*] to her together at the instant. Which was performed.

But, after a while, Sir JOHN BURROUGH['s ship, the *Roebuck*,] receiving a shot, with a cannon perier, under water, and [being] ready to sink; [he] desired Sir ROBERT CROSSE to fall off that he might also clear himself, and save his ship from sinking: which with difficulty he did. For both the *Roebuck* and the *Foresight* were so entangled as, with much ado, could they clear themselves.

The same evening, Sir ROBERT CROSSE (finding the Carrack then sure, and drawing near the Island) persuaded his company to board her again; or else there was no hope to recover her: who, after many excuses and fears, were by him encouraged. And so [his ship] fell athwart her foreships all alone; and so hindered her sailing, that the rest had time to come up to his succour, and to recover the Carrack ere she recovered the land.

sooner refused, but the Gunner, being ready, gave fire to two whole culverins in her chase; and racked and tore her pitifully.

Bearing up with them, [we] gave them the whole [broad] side; and boarded them presently: who resisted most courageously, and put us off again.

Thus continued the *Dainty* in fight a pretty while before any others could come to help her.

In which time, she laid her aboard three several times, tore her Ancient [*Flag*] from her Poop, and slew her Captain [?]. And more harm had done them: but that, by chance, a shot bare their Foremast by the board; which they were compelled to splice again, to their great trouble.

The Seaman's Triumph. [30th September] 1592.

And so, towards the evening, after he had fought with her alone three hours singly, my Lord of CUMBERLAND's two ships [the *Tiger* and the *Sampson*] came up: and, with very little loss, [they] entered with Sir ROBERT CROSSE; who had, in that time, broken their courage, and made the assault easy for the rest.* The *Madre de Dios* taken.

The General [Sir JOHN BURROUGH] having disarmed the Portugals; and stowed them, for better security, on all sides [*i.e. in the various English ships*]; first had presented to his eyes, the true proportion of the vast body of this Carrack; which did then, and may still, justly provoke the admiration [*wonderment*] of all men not formerly acquainted with such a sight.

But albeit this first appearance of the hugeness thereof

* The next was Her Majesty's good Ship, the *Foresight*; whose Commander for that Service was Captain [Sir ROBERT] CROSSE (a man well approved in marine causes, and far hath adventured): who with his ship laid her aboard, and very valiantly assailed them; and was most stoutly by the Spaniards also repulsed.

Insomuch that the brave Captain, of whose men, many were weak; and yet being loath Her Majesty's Ship should be shaken off without victory, fired the Carrack: rather wishing her to be burnt, than the enemies to enjoy her. But the proud and lofty-minded Spaniards, standing on their resolute points, returned the fire again, or some other: which three times was kindled [on board the *Foresight*]; to the great cumber of Captain CROSSE and his Company, that would not so leave them.

This dangerous conflict between these ships endured [a] long time. Which the *Phœnix* of Portsmouth perceiving . . . being of 60 tons or thereabouts . . . left her for a time; standing with their Admiral and Vice-Admiral, which were the *Tiger* and the *Sampson*: and coming up with them, declared unto them the hardy fight of the *Foresight*; who presently bare up with them all the night. The *Sampson*, being the first, coming up with the Carrack, gave her the whole broadside: and shutting up into the *Foresight*'s quarter, entered his men into her.

Captain NORTON, that brave and worthy Gentleman, laid her also aboard, having the *Tiger* with him.

And so [all three crews] entered together, being 100 men at the least, all resolutely minded. At whose entrance they yielded so great a cry as the dismayed Portugals and Spaniards could not bethink themselves what course to take to help themselves: in such a maze were they stricken, although they were [originally] 800 strong, all well-appointed and able men; and of ours but 100. But standing thus, as men amazed, at length [they] yielded themselves vanquished.

The Seaman's Triumph. [30th September] 1592

yielded sights enough to entertain our men's eyes; yet the pitiful object of so many bodies slain and dismembered could not but draw each man's eye to see, and heart to lament, and hands to help, those miserable people; whose limbs were so torn with the violence of shot, and pain made grievous with the multitude of wounds. No man could almost step but upon a dead carcase, or a bloody floor. But especially about the helm; where very many of them fell suddenly from stirring [*steering*] to dying. For the greatness of the stirrage [*steering*] requiring the labour of twelve or fourteen men at once; and some of our ships, beating her in at the stern with their ordnance, oftentimes with one shot slew four or five labouring on either side of the helm: whose rooms being still furnished with fresh supplies, and our artillery still playing upon them with continual vollies; it could not be but that much blood should be shed in that place.

Exceeding humanity showed to the Enemy.

Whereupon our General, moved with singular commiseration of their misery, sent them his own chirurgions, denying them no possible help or relief he, or any of his Company, could afford them.

Among the rest of those, whose state this chance had made very deplorable, was Don FERNANDO DE MENDOZA, Grand Captain and Commander of this Carrack: who indeed was descended of the House of MENDOZA in Spain; but, being married into Portugal, lived there as one of that nation. A Gentleman well stricken in years, well spoken, of comely personage, of good stature: but of hard fortune.

In his several Services against the Moors, he was twice taken prisoner; and both times ransomed by the King [of Spain].

In a former voyage of return from [*or rather*, going to] the East India, he was driven [in August 1585] upon the *baxos* or "sands of India" [*now called* Bassas da India, *and situated midway between Africa and Madagascar*], near the coast of Cephala [*Sofala*]; being then also Captain of a Carrack [the *San Jago*], which was there lost: and himself, though escaping the sea danger, yet fell into the hands

of infidels on land, who kept him under long and grievous servitude. Once more the King [PHILIP II.], carrying a loving respect to the man and desirous to better his condition, was content to let him try his fortune in this Easterly Navigation; and committed unto him the conduct of this Carrack [the *Madre de Dios*], wherein he went [in 1591] from Lisbon, General of the whole Fleet: and in that degree had returned, if the Viceroy of Goa, embarked for Portugal on the *Buen Jesus*, had not, by reason of his late Office, being preferred.

Sir JOHN, intending not to add too much affliction to the afflicted, moved with pity and compassion of human misery, in the end, resolved freely to dismiss this Captain and the most part of his followers to their own country; and for the same purpose, bestowed them in certain vessels, furnished with all kinds of necessary provision.*

This business thus dispatched, good leisure had he to take such [a] view of the goods as conveniency might afford. And having very prudently, to cut off the unprofitable spoil and pillage whereunto he saw the minds of many inclined, seized upon the whole to Her Majesty's use; after a short and slender rummaging and searching of such things as first came to hand: he perceived that the wealth would arise nothing disanswerable to expectation; but that the variety and grandeur of all rich commodities would be more than sufficient to

* They gan to consult, What were best to do with the prisoners, which were many? And finding their great scarcity of victuals; and not knowing what weather they might have; nor how it might please GOD with good wind to prosper them: it was concluded to ship as many of them as they might; and to send them for Lisbon. This they fully determined; and provision was made of a Bark of Dover, which they met: the Fleet taking in her men, and such provision as they had in her; and embarked the Spaniards and Portingals, with their Negroes, whereof were many. And gave them, with them, store of victuals; and so gave them leave to depart; detaining none but the principalest of them.

The Seaman's Triumph. [30th September] 1592.

content both the Adventurers' desire and the soldiers' travail.*

And here I cannot but enter into the consideration and acknowledgment of GOD's great favour towards our nation; who, by putting this purchase [*booty*] into our hands, hath manifestly discovered those secret trades and Indian riches which hitherto lay strangely hidden and cunningly concealed from us: whereof there was, among some few of us, some small and unperfect glimpse only; which now is turned into the broad light of full and perfect knowledge. Whereby it should seem that the will of GOD for our good is, if our weakness could apprehend it, to have us communicate with them in those East Indian treasures: and, by the erection of a lawful Traffic, to better our means to advance true religion and his holy service. [*Just at the time* RICHARD HAKLUYT *printed this*, 1600 A.D.; *he and others were chartered by Queen* ELIZABETH, *as the English East India Company.*]

The Carrack, being in burden, by the estimation of the wise and experienced, [of] no less than 1,600 tons; had fully 900 of those, stowed with the gross bulk of merchandise: the rest of the tonnage being allowed, partly to the ordnance, which were 32 pieces of brass of all sorts; partly to the passengers and the victuals; which could not be any small

* The conflict ended, it were a world of wonder to recount unto you the true reports, how our men bestirred themselves in searching and prying into every corner of her as far as they might: as they might well do, having with so great danger overcome her. The sight of the riches, within the same contained, did so amaze the Companies (that were within board of her: and that still came from every ship; being desirous to see what GOD had sent them, after so long and hot a fight) that many of them could not tell what to take; such was the store and goodness thereof.

Yea, he that had known what [the] things had been worth, in a little room might have contrived great wealth. For it is credibly reported that some younkers happened to find many Jars of Civet, which is o great worth; and [it having been] of some long time closely kept was cause, when they opened the same, it yielded no savour: and they, ignorant and not knowing what it should be, thinking it but trash, as it came to their hands, heaved it overboard. Many other things were so spoiled [*destroyed*] for want of knowledge; when every man had sufficient, and that not one had cause to complain.

The Seaman's Triumph. [30th September] 1592.

quantity, considering the number of the persons, betwixt 600 and 700, and the length of the navigation.

To give you a taste, as it were, of the commodities, it shall suffice to deliver you a general particularity of them, according to the Catalogue taken at Leaden Hall, the 15th of September 1592. Where, upon good view, it was found that the principal wares, after the jewels (which were no doubt of great value, though they never came to light), consisted of *Spices*, *Drugs*, *Silks*, *Calicoes*, *Quilts*, *Carpets*, and *Colours*, &c.

A brief Catalogue of the sundry rich commodities of the *Madre de Dios*.

The *Spices* were Pepper, Cloves, Maces, Nutmegs, Cinnamon, Green Ginger.

The *Drugs* were Benjamin [*the gum Benzoin*], Frankincense, Galingale [*or Galangal*], Mirabolams, Aloes, Zocotrina, Camphor.

The *Silks* [were] Damasks, Taffatas, Sarcenets, *Altobassos* that is counterfeit Cloth of Gold, unwrought China Silk, Sleaved Silk, White twisted Silk, Curled Cypress [=*Cypress lawn, a cobweb lawn or crape*].

The *Calicoes* were Book Calicoes, Calico Lawns, Broad white Calicoes, Fine starched Calicoes, Coarse white Calicoes, Brown broad Calicoes, Brown coarse Calicoes.

There were also Canopies, and coarse Diaper Towels; *Quilts* of coarse Sarcenet, and of Calico; *Carpets* like those of Turkey.

Whereunto are to be added the Pearls, Musk, Civet, and Ambergris.

The rest of the wares were many in number; but less in value: as Elephants' teeth; Porcelain vessels of China; Cocoanuts; Hides; Ebony wood, as black as jet; Bedsteads of the same; Cloth of the rinds of trees, very strange for the matter, and artificial in workmanship.

All which piles of commodities being, by men of approved judgment, rated but in reasonable sort, amounted to no less than £150,000 sterling [=£600,000 *to* £700,000 *now*]: which being divided among the Adventurers whereof Her Majesty was the chief, was sufficient to yield contentment to all parties.

The [above] cargazon [*cargo*] being taken out [at Dartmouth], and the goods freighted in ten of our ships, [and]

sent for London; to the end that the bigness, height, length, breadth, and other dimensions, of so huge a vessel might, by the exact rules of geometrical observations, be truly taken, both for present knowledge and derivation [*transmission*] also of the same unto posterity: one Master ROBERT ADAMS, a man in his faculty of excellent skill, omitted nothing in the description which either his art could demonstrate; or any man's judgment think worthy the memory.

After an exquisite survey of the whole frame, he found:

The capacity and dimensions of the *Madre de Dios*.

The length, from the beak-head to the stern, whereupon was erected a lantern, to contain 165 feet.

The breadth, in the second Close deck, whereof she had three; this being the place where was most extension of breadth, was 46 feet 10 inches.

She drew in water 31 feet at her departure from Cochin in India: but not above 26 [feet] at her arrival in Dartmouth; being lightened in her voyage, by divers means, some 5 feet.

She carried in height, seven several stories [or decks]: one main Orlop, three Close decks, one Fore-castle, and a Spar deck of two floors apiece.

The length of the keel was 100 feet: of the Mainmast 121 feet; and the circuit about, at the partners, 10 feet, 7 inches.

The main-yard was 106 feet long.

By which perfect commensuration of the parts appeareth the hugeness of the whole: far beyond the mould of the biggest shipping used among us, either for war or receit [*burden*].

Don ALONSO DE BAÇAN (having a great Fleet: and suffering these two Carracks, the *Santa Cruz* to be burnt; and the *Madre de Dios* to be taken) was disgraced by his Prince for his negligence.

Captain Nicholas Downton.

The firing and sinking of the stout and warlike Carrack, called Las Cinque Llagas *or* The Five Wounds [*of the Cross at Calvary, usually called the* Stigmata] *by three tall ships set forth at the charges of the Right Honourable* [*George Clifford, the Earl of Cumberland and his friends.* [cf. II. 27].

IN the latter end of the year 1593, the Right Honourable [George Clifford,] Earl of Cumberland, at his own charges and his friends', prepared three tall ships, all at [an] equal rate and either [*each*] of them had [the] like quantity of victuals and [the] like number of men: there being embarked in all three ships, 420 men of all sorts.

Besides these three ships; there was a Pinnace, called the *Violet*, or the *Why not I?*

The *Royal Exchange* went as Admiral [*Flag Ship*]; wherein Master George Cave was Captain. The *May Flower*, Vice Admiral, [was] under the conduct of [Captain] William Anthonie. And the *Sampson*, the charge whereof, it please his Honour to commit unto me, Nicholas Downton.

The directions were sent to us to Plymouth; and we were to open them at sea.

The 6th of April 1594, we set sail in the Sound of Plymouth, directing our course toward the Coast of Spain.

The 24th of the said month, at the Admiral's direction; we divided ourselves East and West from each other, being then in the height of 43° [North]: with commandment at night to come together again.

The 27th, in the morning, we descried the *May Flower* and the little Pinnace [the *Violet*] with a prize that they had taken; being of Vianna [do Castello] in Portugal, and bound for Angola in Africa. This Bark was of 28 tons; having some 17 persons in the same. There were in her, some 12

butts of Galicia wine; whereof we took into every ship a like part: with some Rusk in chests and barrels, with 5 butts of blue coarse cloth, and certain coarse linen cloth for Negroes' shirts; which goods were divided among our Fleet.

Commodities fit for Angola.

The 4th of May, we had sight of our Pinnace and the Admiral's shallop: which had taken three Portugal Caravels; whereof they had sent two away, and kept the third.

The 2nd of June, we had sight of St. Michael [,one of the Azores].

The 3rd day, in the morning, we sent our small Pinnace, which was of some 24 tons, with the small Caravel which we had taken at the Burlings, to range the road[s] [*harbours*] of all the Islands; to see if they could get anything in the same: appointing them to meet us W.S.W. 12 leagues from Fayal. Their going from us was to no purpose. They missed coming to us, when we appointed: also we missed them, when we had great cause to have used them.

The 13th of June, we met with a mighty Carrack of the East Indies, called *Las Cinque Llagas*, or *The Five Wounds*. The *May Flower* was in fight with her before night. I, in the *Sampson*, fetched her up in the evening; and (as I commanded to give her the broad side, as we term it) while I stood very heedfully prying to discover her strength; and where I might give counsel to board her in the night, when the Admiral came [*should come*] up to us; and, as I remember, at the very first shot she discharged at us, I was shot in a little above the belly; whereby I was made unserviceable for a good while after, without [the Portuguese] touching [*hurting*] any other for that night.

Yet, by means of an honest true-hearted man which I had with me, one Captain GRANT, nothing was neglected.

Until midnight, when the Admiral came up; the *May Flower* and the *Sampson* never left, by turns, to ply her with their great ordnance: but then Captain CAVE wished us to stay till morning; at what time each one of us should give her three bouts with our great ordnance, and so should clap her aboard.

But indeed it was long lingered in the morning, until ten of the clock, before we attempted to board her. The Admiral

laid her aboard in the mid ship: the *May Flower* coming up in the quarter, as it should seem, to lie at the stern of the Admiral on the larboard side.

[WILLIAM ANTHONIE,] the Captain of the said *May Flower* was slain at the first coming up: whereby the ship fell to the stern of the out-licar of the Carrack; which, being a piece of timber, so wounded her Foresail, that they said they could come no more to [the] fight. I am sure they did not; but kept aloof from us.

The *Sampson* were aboard on the bow [of the Carrack]; but having not room enough, our quarter lay on the [*Royal*] *Exchange*'s, and our bow on the Carrack's bow.

The *Exchange* also, at the first coming, had her Captain, Master [GEORGE] CAVE, shot in both the legs; the one whereof he never recovered: so he, for that present, was not able to do his office; and, in his absence, he had not any that would undertake to lead out his Company to enter upon the Enemy.

My friend, Captain GRANT, did lead my men on the Carrack's side; which, being not manfully backed by the *Exchange*'s men, his forces being small, made the Enemy bolder than he would have been: whereby I had six men presently slain, and many more hurt; which made them that remained unhurt to return aboard, and [they] would never more give the assault. I say not but some of the *Exchange*'s men did very well: and many more, no doubt, would have done the like, if there had been any principal man to have put them forward, and to have brought all the Company to the fight; and not to have run into corners themselves. But I must needs say that their ship [*the Carrack*] was as well provided for defence as any that I have seen.

And the Portugals, peradventure encouraged by our slack working, played the men; and had Barricadoes made where they might stand without any danger of our shot. They plied us also very much with fire, so that most of our men were burnt in some place or other: and while our men were putting out the fire, they would ever be plying them with small shot or darts. This unusual casting of fire did much dismay many of our men, and made them draw back as they did.

When we had not men to enter; we plied our great ordnance much at them, as high up as they might be mounted: for otherwise we did them little harm. And by shooting a piece out of our forecastle, being close by her, we fired a mat on her beak-head: which [fire] more and more kindled, and ran from thence to the mat on the bowsprit; and from the mat, up to the wood of the bowsprit; and thence to the topsail-yard; which fire made the Portugals abaft in the ship to stagger, and to make show of *parlé*. But they that had the charge before, encouraged them; making show that it might easily be put out, and that it was nothing. Whereupon again they stood stiffly to their defence.

Anon the fire grew so strong that I saw it [to be] beyond all help; although she had been already yielded to us. Then we desired to be off from her, but had little hope to [have] obtained our desire. Nevertheless we plied water very much to keep our ship well. Indeed I made little other reckoning for the ship, myself, and divers hurt men; [but] then to have ended there with the Carrack: but most of our people might have saved themselves in boats. And when my care was most, by GOD's Providence only, by the burning asunder of our spritsail-yard with [its] ropes and sail, and the ropes about the spritsail-yard of the Carrack, whereby we were fast entangled, we fell apart; with [the] burning of some of our sails which we had then on board.

The *Exchange* also, being further from the fire, afterward was more easily cleared; and fell off from abaft.

As soon as GOD had put us out of danger, the fire got into the Fore-castle [of the Carrack]; where, I think, was store of Benjamin [*the gum Benzoin*] and such other like combustible matter: for it flamed and ran all over the Carrack in an instant, in a manner. The Portugals leapt overboard in great numbers.

Then sent I, Captain Grant with the boat; with leave to use his own discretion in saving of them. So he brought me aboard two Gentlemen:

The one, an old man, called Nuno Velio Pereira which, as appeareth by the Fourth Chapter in the First Book of the worthy *History* of [Jan] Huyghen van Linschoten, was Governor of Mozambique and Cefala [*Sofala*] in the year

1582: and since that time, had been likewise a Governor in a place of importance in the East Indies. And the ship [*a Carrack*], wherein he was coming home, was cast away a little to the east of the Cape of *Buona Speranza* [Cape of Good Hope]: and from thence, he travelled overland to Mozambique; and came, as a passenger, in this Carrack.

The other was called BRAS CARRERO, and [he] was Captain of a Carrack which was cast away near Mozambique; and [he] came likewise in this ship for a passenger.

Also three men of the inferior sort we saved in our boat. Only these two we clothed, and brought into England. The rest, which were taken up by the other ships' boats, we set all on shore in the Isle of Flores: except some two or three Negroes; whereof one was born in the Mozambique, and another in the East Indies.

This fight was open off the Sound between Fayal and Pico; six leagues to the southward.

The people which we saved told us, That the cause why they would not yield was because this Carrack was for the King; and that she had all the goods belonging to the King in the country [*India*] for that year in her; and that the Captain of her was in favour with the King; and at his [next] return into the Indies, should have been Viceroy there.

And withal this ship was nothing at all pestered; neither within board, nor without: and was more like a Ship of War than otherwise. Moreover, she had the ordnance of a Carrack that was cast away at Mozambique, and the [Ship's] Company of her: together with the [Ship's] Company of another Carrack that was cast away a little to the eastward of the Cape of *Buona Speranza*. Yet through sickness, which they caught at Angola, where they watered; they said, They had not now above 150 white men: but negroes, a great many.

They likewise affirmed that they had three Noblemen aad three Ladies in her: but we found them to differ in most of their talk.

All this day [14th June 1594] and all the night she burned: but, next morning, her powder, which was lowest,

being 60 barrels, blew her abroad; so that most of the ship did swim in parts above the water.

Some of them say, That she was bigger than the *Madre de Dios*; and some, That she was less. But she was much undermasted, and undersailed [*carrying too little sail*]: yet she went well for a ship that was so foul.

The shot which we [in the *Samson*] made at her in great ordnance, before we lay her aboard, might be at seven bouts [*broadsides*] which we had, and 6 or 7 shot at a bout, one with another, some 49 shots. The time we lay aboard [the Carrack] might be two hours. The shot which we discharged [while] aboard the Carrack, might be [that of] some 24 sakers.

And thus much may suffice concerning our dangerous conflict with that unfortunate Carrack.

The last of June [1594], after long traversing of the seas, we had sight of another mighty Carrack; which divers of our Company, at the first, took to be the great *San Philip*, the Admiral [*or Flag Ship*] of Spain; but the next day, being the 1st of July [1594], fetching her up, we perceived her indeed to be a Carrack: which, after some few shot bestowed upon her, we summoned to yield; but they, standing stoutly to their defence, utterly refused the same.

Wherefore, seeing no good could be done without boarding her, I consulted what course we should take in the boarding. But by reason that we, which were the chief Captains, were partly slain, and partly wounded, in the former conflict; and because of the murmuring of some disordered and cowardly companions: our valiant and resolute determinations were crossed. And, to conclude a long discourse in few words, the Carrack escaped our hands.

After this, attending about Corvo and Flores for some West Indian purchase [*booty*], and being disappointed of our expectation; and victuals growing short, we returned to England: where I arrived at Portsmouth, the 28th of August [1594].

STRANGE AND WONDERFUL THINGS

happened to RICHARD HASLETON,
born at Braintree in Essex,
in his Ten years Travels in many
foreign countries.

PENNED AS HE DELIVERED
it from his own mouth.

LONDON,
Printed by A. I. [ABEL JEFFES] for WILLIAM BARLEY,
and are to be sold at his shop in Gratious
[*Gracechurch*] street, near Leaden Hall.
1595.

[The following Text has been printed from the only extant copy of the original edition, by the kind permission of WAKEFIELD CHRISTIE-MILLER, Esq. of Britwell Court, Bucks.]

To the Worshipful Master RICHARD STAPAR, *one of the Worshipful Company of Merchants Adventurers of this honourable city of London, trading to Turkey and the Eastern Kingdoms.*

Your Worship's faithful well-willer W[ILLIAM] BARLEY wisheth all fortunate and happy success in all your enterprises, with increase of worldly worship; and, after death, the joys unspeakable.

WORSHIPFUL SIR. The many reports of your rare virtues generally spoken of all honest travellers who hath tasted the benefit of your bounty: not only in our home born country where you have your residence; but in those far countries where your honest Factors trade. By whose worshipful and express command given [to] them, and the good they daily do for all men which seek them; your Worship is accounted and called the Pattern of Bounty: especially of such as are, in their travail distressed with want; which with money are relieved, as well as [with] other great cost [that] their [*the Factors*'] favour or friendship can procure. So that not only the poor and needy are pleasured thereby; but those that swim in most abundance. All proceeding of your most kind and courteous disposition.

The remembrance of which [having] moved a longing desire in me, in some sort, to explain your worthiness and fame, by your bounty gained: it had never such opportunity until this time when, perusing my store of Papers and Writings of sundry men's labours, I chanced on this pamphlet; which importeth the troublesome travails of our near neighbour, born at Braintree in Essex, named RICHARD HASLETON. Whose miseries as they were many (being in the hands both of Christian and heathen enemies, for GOD and our country's cause; and his escapes from death so often, and so wonderful); with the constant enduring of the same: his preservation; and safe return to England, where his longing desire so often wished him.

All which considered, with your Worship's love to all travellers, emboldened me the rather under your Worship's patronage to publish the same; especial zeal procuring me thereunto. And partly in regard of your many favours to the said HASLETON in his miseries extended; [and partly] that your Worship's good ensample may lighten others to such good actions.

Hoping your Worship will accept of it no less friendly than I offer it willingly: which if you do, then is my desire satisfied, and myself rest bounden to your Worship's worthiness. Ever beseeching the Giver of all good to increase the number of such worthy-minded subjects; by whom our Prince and country are, in foreign parts, so much honoured.

Your Worship's
To command in what I may,

WILLIAM BARLEY.

The miserable Captivity of Richard Hasleton, *born at Braintree in Essex.*

N the year 1582, departing the English coast toward[s] the end of May, in a ship of London called the *Mary Marten* (one of the owners [of which] was a citizen of London named Master Eastwoode; the other of them, named Master Estridge, dwelling at Limehouse), being laden and bound for Petrach [*Patras*], a town of mart, being within the dominion of the Turk: where we safely arrived and made our mart.

And within eight and twenty days were laden homeward; and presently we weighed anchor, and set sail. And coming out of the Gulf of Lepanto, [we] grounded upon a rock, lying on the larboard side; being in very great danger, [and] in doubt to lose both ship and goods: yet it pleased GOD that we recovered.

Then, about the midst of the month of July [1582], we came right before Cape de Gatte [*Cabo de Gata, near Almeria, in Spain*] when, having a very small wind, we descried two galleys: whereupon the Master commanded the Gunner to put forth the ordnance, and to heave the skiff overboard.

Then did the Gunner demand of the Master to make a a shot: which he granted. Then did he bestow eight and twenty shot, but to no purpose: for the enemy lay very far out.

Now when we saw our shot and powder spent so much in waste, some of our company cried to our Master to shew the Turks' Letters: but he would not; but commanded the Gunner still to shoot.

For now the gallies were within shot, and did shoot at us,

both with great shot and muskets. And presently both our Gunners were slain, both with one shot; and some others maimed, whereby we were in great doubt: for the gallies lying on both sides of us, one of them had shot us under water, whereby our ship was foundered before we perceived.

Then we perceiving the ship to sink from us; such as were wariest leapt into the skiff, as many as it was able to bear: the rest leaping overboard, such as could swim saved themselves, going aboard the gallies; the others were drowned.

Now I being the last man upon the hatches, because I was at the stern, and being sore hurt with a musket shot; the Turks [having] made haste to board our ship, hoping to save some of our goods: two of them came aboard. The first came to me, and took me by the bosom. I drew out my knife very speedily, and thrust him into the body; and so slew him. The other was gone down into the ship, where I left him; for even then was the ship sinking from me.

Wherefore I betook myself to swimming; and turning me about to see the ship, I could see nothing thereof but only the flag. Then did I swim to the gallies; and laying hold upon an oar, got into the galley.

When I was aboard, I was stripped of my clothes. Then presently was I commanded to the poop, to talk with the Captain: who inquired of me, Whether I was a Merchant [*i.e., the Supercargo of the ship*]? Which because I would not confess, he gave me 15 strokes with a cudgel, and then put me in the galley's hold: where I was six days, taking very little sustenance; lying in extreme pains, by reason of my hurts which I had received in the fight; and with anguish, for my hard hap.

About three months after [? *October* 1582], the gallies returned to Argire [*Algiers*]; where immediately after my landing I was sold for 66 doubles [*the Double Pistoles or Doubloons; equal according to page* 174 *to* £4, 14*s. then; or say* £20 *now*].

Then did I fall into extreme sickness for ten days' space; notwithstanding [which] I was sent to sea by my Master to whom I was sold, to labour in the gallies at an oar's end: where I remained three months [? *November* 1582 *to January*

1583], being very feeble and weak, by reason my sickness continued the most part of that time; yet was I constrained either to labour, or else to lose my head. I had no other choice.

Then the gallies returning home to Argire [*Algiers*], after my coming on shore I was in a marvellous weakness; what with continual labour, with beating, and with sickness: which endured three months [? *February to April* 1583], being in a most miserable estate without all succour seeing no man to pity my misery; having no nourishment but only bread and water and [of] that but small quantity, no apparel on me but a thin shirt and a pair of linen breeches, and lodged in a stable on the cold ground. Thus I, being almost in despair ever to recover, yielded myself to the will of Almighty GOD; whom it pleased, in the end, to give me a little strength.

And after, for the space of two [*or rather* four years] or more [? *April* 1583 *to April* 1587], I was divers times at my labour at the oar's end, after my accustomed manner; till (such time our fleet of gallies meeting with the gallies of Genoa near the Christian shore; and they following us in chase) it chanced, [*about April* 1587] by reason of tempest, that our galley was cast away near the west side of the island [of] Formentera.

There were in it, of Christians and Turks, to the number of 250; which were all drowned except 15: of which myself, with two others, with great difficulty brake our chains; and taking hold of an oar, we escaped to the shore, not without great danger of drowning.

We being now gotten to land, and accompanied both with Turks and Christians; we took our rest under bushes and thickets. The Turks were very unwilling to depart with [*separate from*] us; thinking to find some other galley of the company to take us aboard, and carry us back to Argire [*Algiers*].

But we, hoping now to get our liberties, conveyed ourselves as secretly as we could into the woods; and went unto a rock, and with sharp stones we did beat off our irons: and fled immediately to the Christians, and yielded ourselves.

But one of them which escaped with me, who was born in Sclavony [? *Slavonia*], told them, That I was an English Lutheran.

Then was I presently carried aboard a galley of Genoa, and put in chains.

And, upon the morrow, was I sent over into the Isle of Iviza, being within the jurisdiction of Majorca: which are all in the dominion of Spain.

There was I imprisoned in the High Tower of the Town Castle [*of the town of Iviza*], with a pair of bolts upon my heels, and a clasp of iron about my neck, there hanging a chain at the clasp: where I remained nine days, fed with a little bread and water.

Now because I had in no respect offended them; I demanded, Wherefore they molested me? saying, It was contrary to [the] law and the profession of Christians.

Then did they ask me, If I had spoken anything against the King, and against the Church of Rome?

I answered, "Nothing!"

Then they told me, I should be sent to Majorca, to answer before the Inquisition.

Then the Justice, or Chief Officer, of Iviza brought me back to Genoa; requesting to have me chained in a galley: which the Captain did, asking the Justice, Who should be my surety for running away?

He demanded, If there were not a spare chain?

He said, "Yes." Then he commanded a chain to be brought forth; and chained me at the sixth oar before: where I rowed until we came to the Port of Spine [*later called* Portpin; *now the* Bay of Palma] in Majorca, guarding me with 14 gallies.

Then were the Officers of the Inquisition sent for by the Captain, which came the second day after our coming there [*i.e.*, *to Palma*]: and at their coming, they offered me the *Pax*, which I refused to touch.

Whereupon they reviled me, and called me "Lutheran!"

[And] taking me presently out of the galley, carried me

on shore in Majorca: and finding the Inquisitor walking in the market place, [they] presented me to him, saying, "Here is the prisoner!"

He immediately commanded me to prison; whither they carried me, and put a pair of shackles on my heels. Where I remained two days.

Then was I brought forth into a church, where the Inquisitor sat usually in judgement. Who being ready set, commanded me to kneel down and to do homage to certain images which were before me.

I told him, "I would not do that which I knew to be contrary to the commandments of Almighty God; neither had I been brought up in the Roman law, neither would I submit myself to it."

He asked me, Why I would not?

I answered, "That whereas in England, where I was born and brought up, the Gospel was truly preached; and maintained by a most gracious Princess: therefore I would not now commit idolatry, which is utterly condemned by the Word of God."

Then he charged me to utter the truth, otherwise I should abide the smart.

Then was a stool set, and he commanded me to sit down before him; and offered me the cross, bidding me reverently to lay my hand upon it, and urged me instantly to do it: which moved me so much, that I did spit in the Inquisitor's face; for which the Scribe gave me a good buffet on the face.

So, for that time, we had no more reasoning. For the Inquisitor did ring a little bell to call the Keeper; and [he] carried me to ward again.

And the third day, I was brought forth again to the place aforesaid.

Then the Inquisitor asked me, What I had seen in the churches of England?

I answered, That I had seen nothing in the Church of England but the Word of God truly preached.

Then he demanded, How I had received the Sacraments?

I replied, That I had received them according to the institution of CHRIST: that is, I received the bread in

remembrance that CHRIST in the flesh died upon the cross for the redemption of man.

"How," said he, "hast thou received the wine?"

Whereto I replied and said, That I received the wine in remembrance that CHRIST shed his blood to wash away our sins.

He said, It was in their manner?

I said, "No."

Then he charged me to speak the truth, or I should die for it.

I told him, "I did speak the truth; and would speak the truth: for," said I, "it is better for me to die guiltless than guilty."

Then did he, with great vehemency, charge me again to speak the truth; and sware by the Catholic Church of Rome, that if I did not, I should die in fire.

Then I said, "If I died in the faith which I had confessed, I should die guiltless:" and told him he had made a vain oath. And so I willed him to use no circumstance to dissuade me from the truth: "for you cannot prevail. Though I be now in your hands, where you have power over my body; yet have you no power over my soul." I told him, he made a long matter far from the truth.

For which, he said I should die.

Then he bade me say what I could to save myself.

Where I replied, as followeth: Touching the manner of the receiving of Sacraments, where he said "it was like to theirs": "you," said I, "when you receive the bread, say it is the very body of CHRIST; and likewise you affirm the wine to be his very blood." Which I denied; saying it was impossible for a mortal man to eat the material body of CHRIST, or to drink his blood.

Then he said, I had blasphemed the Catholic Church.

I answered, That I had said nothing against the true Catholic Church; but altogether against the false Church.

He asked, How I could prove it? saying if I could not prove it, I should die a most cruel death.

Note, by the way, that when any man is in durance for religion; he is called to answer before no open assembly: but only in the presence of the Inquisitor, the Secretary, and

the Solicitor whom they term the Broker. The cause is, as I take it, because they doubt [*fear*] that very many of their own people would confess the Gospel, if they did but see and understand their absurd dealing.

Again, to the matter. Because it was so secret, they urged me to speak the more.

Then he inquired, Whether I had ever been confessed?

I said, "Yes."

He demanded, "To whom?"

I said, "To GOD."

He asked me, If I had ever confessed to any Friar?

I said, "No, for I do utterly defy them. For how can he forgive me my sins, which is himself a sinner; as all other men are."

"Yes," said he, "he which confesseth himself to a Friar, who is a Father, may have remission of his sins by his mediation."

"Which," I said, "I would never believe."

Wherefore seeing they could seduce me, by no means, to yield to their abominable idolatry; the Secretary cried, "Away with him!" The Inquisitor and he frowned very angerly on me for the answers which I had given: and said, They would make me tell another tale.

So, at the ringing of a little bell, the Keeper came and carried me to ward again.

At my first Examination, when the Keeper should lead me away; the Inquisitor did bless me with the cross: but never after.

Two days after was I brought again, and set upon a stool before the Inquisitor.

He bade me ask *misericordium.*

I told him, "I would crave mercy of JESUS CHRIST who died for my sins. Other *misericordium* would I crave none!"

Then he commanded me to kneel before the altar.

I said, "I would: but not to pray to any image. For your altar is adorned with many painted images which were fashioned by the hands of sinful men: which have mouths, and speak not; ears, and hear not; noses, and smell not;

hands, and handle not; feet have they, and walk not—which GOD doth not allow at his altar, for he hath utterly condemned them by his Word."

Then he said, I had been wrong[ly] taught. "For," said he, "whosoever shall see these figures in earth may the better remember him in heaven whose likeness it doth represent, who would be a Mediator to GOD for us."

But I replied, That all images were an abomination to the Lord: for he hath condemned them in express words by his own mouth, saying, "Thou shalt not make thyself any graven image, &c."

"Yes," said he, "but we have need of a Mediator to make intercession for us: for we are unworthy to pray to GOD ourselves, because we are vile sinners."

I said, "There was no Mediator but JESUS CHRIST."

Where, after many absurd reasons and vain persuasions, he took a pause.

Then I asked him, Why he kept me so long in prison, which never committed offence to them: knowing very well that I had been captive in Argire [*Algiers*] near[ly] five years space [*July* 1582 *to April* 1587]: saying, "That when GOD, by his merciful providence, had, through many great dangers, set me in a Christian country, and delivered me from the cruelty of the Turks: when I thought to find such favour as one Christian oweth to another, I found them now more cruel than the Turks, not knowing any cause Why."

"The cause," said he, "is because the King hath wars with the Queen of England."

For at that instant [*April* 1587], there was their Army [*Armado*] prepared ready to go for England. Whereupon they would, divers times, give me reproachful words; saying, That I should hear shortly of their arrival in England. With innumerable vain brags, which I omit for brevity.

Then did I demand, "If there were not peace between the King and the Queen's Majesty; whether they would keep me still?"

"Yea," said he, "unless thou wilt submit thyself to the faith of the Romish Church." So he commanded me away.

I asked, Wherefore he sent for me; and to send me away, not alleging any matter against me?

He said, I should have no other matter alleged but that which I had spoken with mine own mouth.

Then I demanded, "Why they would have the Romish Church to have the supremacy?"

Whereto he would make no answer.

Then I asked, "If they took me to be a Christian?"

"Yes," said he, "in some respect[s]; but you are out of the faith of the true Church."

Then the Keeper took me to prison again.

And after, for the space of three weeks, I was brought forth to answer three several times every week. At which times they did sometimes threaten me with death, some while with punishment; and many times they attempted to seduce me with fair words and promises of great preferment: but when they saw nothing would draw me from the Truth, they called me "shameless Lutheran!" saying many times, "See, he is of the very blood of LUTHER! He hath his very countenance!" with many other frivolous speeches.

After all this, he commanded to put me in the dungeon within the Castle [*i.e. of Palma*], five fathoms [30 *feet*] under ground; giving me, once a day, a little bread and water.

There remained I one whole year [*April* 1587 *to April* 1588], lying on the bare ground, seeing neither sun nor moon; no, not hearing man woman nor child speak, but only the Keeper which brought my small victual.

It happened about the year's end, upon the Feast of PHILLIP and JACOB [*JAMES*], being the first day of May [1588], that a pretty boy, being the Keeper's son, came to give me my ordinary food; which he used sometimes to do.

Now, when he opened the [trap] door, and had let down the basket; I asked, "Who was there?"

He answered by his name, saying, "Here is MATTHEW!"

I asked him, "Where his father was?"

"He is gone to Mass," said he. So he let down the trap door, and went his way; leaving the rope with the basket hanging still.

And forasmuch as I lay without all comfort, reposing myself only unto GOD'S Providence; yet unwilling to lose any opportunity that lay in me, if GOD were pleased, whereby I might be delivered. So soon as I heard the boy was gone: I jumped up and took hold of the rope, and wound myself up to the [trap] door. Setting my foot against the wall, with my shoulders did I lift the trap door.

Now when I was aloft, and saw no man; for they were gone to see some ceremonies of their idolatrous exercises in the city, I knew [of] no way to escape away; being now in the midst of the way: wherefore it was impossible to convey myself [away] so secretly, but I should be espied.

Wherefore, for a present shift, I went secretly into a void [*an empty*] room of the Castle [*i.e. of Palma*] where lay great store of lime and earth: where I tied an old cloth, which I had, about my head and face to keep the dust out of my eyes and ears; and so did I creep into the lime, and covered myself so well as I could, lying there till towards midnight.

And then hearing no man stirring, I got up, and sought some way to get forth: but could find none. Then, being greatly perplexed, I bent myself to the good pleasure of Almighty GOD; making my humble prayers that he would, of his mercy, vouchsafe to deliver me out of this miserable thraldom.

And, searching to and fro, in the end I came where three great horses stood, tied by the head and feet. Then did I unloose the halters from their heads, and the ropes from their legs; and went to the Castle wall. When I had tied them end to end, I made it [*the rope*] fast to the body of a vine which grew upon the wall: and by it did I strike myself over the wall into the town ditch: where I was constrained to swim about forty paces, before I could get forth of the ditch.

Then walked I to and fro in the city [*Palma*] two hours, seeing no man: neither could I devise any way forth.

Wherefore I returned back again to the town ditch, to see if I could find any way to bring me without the town walls: and following the ditch, at the last I perceived, by the noise of the water, that there was a Water Gate through the wall; where I searched and found that the issue of the water was under the wall.

Then did I very venturously enter the water, and diving under water got into the Water Gate: and suddenly the force of the water did drive me through with such violence, that it cast me headlong against another wall on the outside; which with the blow did much amaze me.

Yet, by the help of GOD, I recovered, swimming down the ditch till I came where was a trough or pipe; which I took to be laid over the ditch, to convey some fresh water spring into the city.

There did I climb up a post which bare the same, and got upon the top of the pipe: where some of the Watch, being near the wall, perceived me; but could not any way come near to me.

Then cried they, in their tongue, "Who is there?" three or four times; but I made no answer, but crept as fast as I could to get off the pipe to land: where, before I could get down, they shot some of their muskets after me; but, thanked be GOD, none of the shot did hit me.

Thus, with great difficulty, I escaped out of the city; and went about six miles from thence before the day brake.

Then I went into a thick wood. For I perceived there were very many sent forth, with hue and cry, both footmen and horsemen, to apprehend me. Therefore I lay still the day and night following.

And after, for seven days' space [*3rd–9th May* 1588], I wandered through desert ways, among woods and bushes. Many times, as I came near the Port ways [*i.e. the roads to the seaport Palma*], I heard the pursuers inquiring after me; demanding of divers, Whether they had seen me pass? Some were very earnest to take me; others wishing that I might escape: for very many times I was so near them that I heard every word they spake.

Thus I imagined, by all possible means, to avoid [*escape from*] the hands of these unmerciful tyrants; being in great extremity with hunger and cold. For since the time I came out of the prison, which was at the least eight days, I had none other sustenance but berries, which I gathered from the bushes; and the roots of palm [trees] and other like roots, which I digged out of the earth: and no other apparel but an old linen cloth about my body, and a red cap on my

head; without either hose, shoes, or other furniture. So that, by reason the way was very hard, I was forced to cut my cap in two; and [to] lap it about my feet, to defend them from the sharp stones and gravel.

Thus travelling for the most part by night, I chanced to come where there was a house standing alone; and near the house there stood a cart wherein lay certain horse collars. Where searching among them, I found the collars lined with sheepskins: which skins I rent from the collars, and apparelled myself with them in this manner:

I put one piece before me like a breastplate, and another on my shoulders and back; with the woolly side towards my body: tying them together over my shoulders and under my arms with Palmite, which is a weed like to that whereof our hand baskets are made; which is well known to such as have travelled [in] those parts. And with another piece I made me a cap.

And in these seemly ornaments I passed forth, till about three days after [? 12*th May* 1588], very early in a morning, most unhappily I crossed an highway, where a countryman, travelling with a mule laden with rundlets of wine, espied me, and demanded of me, Whither I was bound?

I said, I was going to Coothea [*Alcudia*, 31 *miles from Palma*], which is a town lying on the shore side.

But he, suspecting me to be the man which was pursued, bade me stay.

But I went onward.

He ran after me, and threw stones at me: but I (not being able to overrun him, being very feeble) turned back; and, with a pole which I carried, began to defend myself, striking at him three or four times. At the last I thrust at him, and hit him on the breast, and overthrew him: whereupon he made a horrible cry.

And immediately there came to the number of fifteen more: some having swords; some, harquebuses; and others, crossbows. When I was thus beset, knowing no way to escape, I yielded myself.

Then they bound me hands and feet, laid me on a mule, and carried me back again to [*Palma*] the city of Majorca; delivering me to the Inquisitor: who, when he had

sent me to prison, commanded a pair of bolts to be put on my legs, and an iron clasp about my neck, with a chain of five fathoms [30 *feet*] long hanging thereat; which was done accordingly.

And on the morrow [? 13*th May* 1588], I was brought forth to the accustomed place, and in the same manner: where the Inquisitor sitting, asked first, Why I had broken prison, and run away?

I said, "To save my life."

"Yea," said he, "but now thou hast offended the law more than before; and therefore shall the law be now executed upon thee."

Then I was carried away again. And immediately there was called an assembly of citizens, and such as were seen in the Law, to counsel, and to take advice, What punishment they might inflict upon me?

Which being deliberated, I was brought forth again; and carried to the Place of Torment: which was in a cell or vault underground.

There were present but four persons, that is to say,

The Inquisitor,

The Solicitor, or Broker, who is to see the law executed.

A Dutch woman that dwelt in the city; who was commanded thither to tell them what I spake; because I spake many times in the Dutch tongue.

And lastly, the Tormentor.

The rack now standing ready before them; with seven flaxen ropes lying thereon, new[ly] bought from the market.

Then the Inquisitor charged me, as at all other times he used to do, That I should speak what I had to say, and to speak the truth; otherwise I should be even now tormented to death.

I, seeing myself in the hands of such cruel tyrants as always thirst after the blood of the innocent; even as CAIN (who being wroth with his brother ABEL, and carrying a heavy countenance) could be no way eased but with his brother's blood: so I, past hope of life, turned my back towards them, and seeing my torments present before me, I fell down on my knees, and besought the Lord to forgive my sins, and to strengthen my faith, and to grant me patience to endure to the end.

Then they took me into a void room, and stripped me out of my ornaments of sheepskins which I repeated [*spoke of*] before; and put a pair of strong canvas breeches upon me.

Then bringing me to the rack again, he commanded me to lie down. The bars of the rack under me were as sharp as the back of a knife.

Now I, willingly yielding myself, lay down. Then the Tormentor bound my hands over my breast crosswise; and my legs clasped up together, were fast tied the one foot to the other knee. Then he fastened to either arm a cord, about the brawn of the arm; and likewise to either thigh another; which were all made fast again under the rack to the bars: and with another cord he bound down my head; and [he] put a hollow cane into my mouth. Then he put four cudgels into the ropes which were fastened to my arms and thighs.

Now the woman which was present, being interpreter, began to persuade me to yield, and confess the faith of the Church of Rome.

I answered, "If it were the will of GOD that I should end my life under their cruel hands, I must be content: but, if it please him, he is able to deliver me, if there were ten thousands against me."

Then the Tormentor, as he was commanded, began to wrest the ropes; which he did by little and little, to augment my pains, and to have them endure the longer: but, in the end, he drew them with such violence as though he would have plucked my four quarters in sunder; and there stayed a good space.

Yet to declare their tyrannical malice, thinking my torment not sufficient, he added more: pouring water through a cane which was in my mouth, by little and little, which I was constrained either to let down, or to have my breath stopped until they had tunned in such [a] quantity as was not tolerable to endure; which pained me extremely,

Yet not satisfied, they took and wet a linen cloth, and laid it over my mouth till I was almost strangled; when my body, being thus overcharged with such abundance of water, after they had thus stopped my breath with the wet cloth, suddenly with the force of my breath and that

my stomach was so much overcharged, the water gushed out, and bare away the cloth as if had been the force of a conduit spout.

When the Inquisitor saw that all this would not make me yield, he commanded the Tormentor for to wind the cord on my left arm more strait[ly]; which put me to horrible pains. And immediately the rope burst in sunder.

Then said the Inquisitor, "Yea, is he so strong? I will make him yield!": and commanded the Tormentor to put a new rope.

Then the woman again bade me yield; saying, It were better to yield than to die so miserable a death.

But I, beseeching Almighty GOD to ease me of my pains, and to forgive my sins, answered her, That though they had power over my body: yet there was no torment should compel me to yield to their idolatry, whereby I might bring my soul in danger of hell fire.

Then the Inquisitor asked her, What I said?

She answered, That I had said I would never submit myself to the Church of Rome.

Then did he most vehemently charge me to yield and submit myself to the Romish Church: otherwise he would pluck off one of my arms.

Whereupon I denying still, the Tormentor, in most cruel manner, wrested the ropes as if he would have rent my body in sunder. I (being now in intollerable pains; and looking for nothing but present [*instant*] death) cried out, in the extremity of my anguish, "Now, farewell wife and children! and farewell England!": and so, not able to utter one word more, lay even senseless.

The Inquisitor asked the woman again, What I said?

She laid her hand upon my head, and perceiving that I was speechless, told him, I was dead.

Wherefore the Tormentor loosed the ropes, unbound my hands and feet, and carried me into a chamber which they termed St. Walter's Chamber. Where I came to myself, and received some sense and reason; but could have no feeling of any limb or joint. Thus I lay n a most lamentable and pitiful manner for five days [? 14*th*–18*th May* 1588], having a continual issue of blood and water forth of

my mouth all that space, and being so feeble and weak, by reason of my torments, that I could take no sustenance.

Till the sixth day [? 19*th May* 1588] a little recovering my strength, they gave me a little quantity of bread and wine sod[den] together: and presently, the very same day, they carried me forth into the city, and set me upon an ass's back, and whipped me throughout every street of [*Palma*] the city of Majorca; giving me to the number of five hundred lashes, which made the blood to run down my miserable carcase in such abundance that it dropped at the belly of the ass to the ground. Now there were carried with me about the city very many harlots and whores and other malefactors which had offended the law; but none punished like me.

After this, they carried me to the chamber [*St. Walter's Chamber*] from whence I came: where I lay without all worldly comfort.

Can any man, which understandeth the absurd blindness and wilful ignorance of these Spanish tyrants or Romish monsters, think them to be of the true Church? which defend their faith with fire, sword, and hellish torments, without remorse or pity; as you may perceive by a manifest trial here set down to the open view of the World. For when these hell-hounds had tormented this miserable creature, as you have heard, with a monstrous and most unchristian kind of torment: which he endured for the space of three hours, till [he] was at the very point of death and ready to yield up the ghost: they (not yet satisfied with these torments, which he had suffered already) reserved his life, minding to increase his pains; which they were nothing slack to perform so long as he remained in their power.

Now the second night after they had whipped me about the city as aforesaid [? *the night of the* 20*th May* 1588], about midnight. I recounting to myself in what misery I both did and had remained; I thought to put in practice once again to get my liberty, craving of the Lord, with hearty prayer, to assist me with his mighty hand.

And immediately searching about, I found an old iron stub; with the which I brake a hole through the chamber wall: and crept through into another chamber; where I felt in the dark many pieces of plate, which I little regarded. After, I found many towels and table napkins.

Then, seeking further, I found a long cane whereon there hung many puddings and sausages. I plucked down the cane, but had little mind on the victual. Then I found certain knives.

Then I espied some light at a great window in a garret or loft over me. Wherefore I tied a crooked knife to the cane, and thrust up a long towel: and with the knife at the end of the cane, I drew the towel about a bar of the window, and drew it to me: and with that towel I did climb up into the window. But then I could not get forth between the bars, wherefore I digged forth one of the bars; and tied my towels and napkins together end to end, and fastened one end to a bar of the window: and then did slide down by them till I came within three or four fathoms [18 *or* 24 *feet*] of the ground: when the towels brake in sunder, and I fell down into a well which was direct[ly] under me, where I was almost drowned. Yet it pleased GOD to deliver me.

And being then in the city, without the Castle walls; I, knowing no other way to get out, went again to the town ditch: where I got through the Water Gate with less peril than before, by reason there was less water than [there] was the other time.

Then went I, with all speed into the woods; lying all days in [the] woods as close as I could, and travelled by nights through woods and mountains.

And upon the third night [*i.e. after his escape, say the night of the* 23*rd May* 1588], about midnight, I happened into an olive garden, not above half a bow shot from the sea-side; in which garden I found a little skiff or boat lying under a pomgranate tree: and there lay in the boat a hatchet. All which served happily for my delivery.

Now I, being unable to carry the boat to the water-side, did cut small truncheons of wood; and upon them did slide it down to the water-side. Then I cut an arm [*a*

branch] of an olive tree, to make my boat a mast; and, having no other shift, made a sail-cloth with my breeches and a piece of [a] mantle which I had about me. And for [*because*] my oars were very mean, yet durst I stay to look for no better, but presently set sail; and, yielding myself to the good pleasure of Almighty GOD, betook myself to the sea: willing rather to abide what the Lord would lay on me, than to die among these most cruel tyrants.

And by the providence of GOD, upon the second day [? 25*th May* 1588], in the forenoon, I descried the Coast of Barbary: for the wind stood north-east [*or rather* north-west], which served me most happily.

Understand that this cut is, from shore to shore [*that is, from some point in Majorca to the east side of the Bay of Bougiah*] 150 [*or rather* 70] leagues, which is 450 [*or, at most, say* 210] English miles; and at that time [there was] a very rough sea; insomuch if it had not been by the great and wonderful power of GOD, my vessel and I had both been overwhelmed.

But I fell in with the country of Cabyles [*i.e., the Little Kabylia, in the present Province of Constantine*], commonly called the King of Cookooe's land, near a town called Gigeley [*the present Jijelli*]: where I went on shore, leaving my boat to swim which way the wind and weather would conduct it; thinking it had done me sufficient service.

But see now, when I had escaped through the surges of the sea from the cruelty of the Spaniard, I was no sooner landed and entered the mountains but I was espied by the Moors which inhabit the country; who pursued very earnestly to take me; supposing me to be come from the Christian shore to rob in their coast.

For, many times, the Spaniards will pass over in some small vessel, and go on shore; and if they can catch any men of the country, they will carry them away to make galley slaves: wherefore the Moors are very diligent to pursue them at their landing; and if it chance they take any Christian, they use him in like sort.

Wherefore I, being very unwilling to fall into their hands, was constrained to go into a river, which ran between two

mountains; and there to stand in water up to the chin, where the bushes and trees did grow most thick over me: where I stood certain hours, until they had left searching for me.

Now when I perceived they were departed, I went out of the water, being very feeble; for I ate nothing all that time but the bark of the trees, which I cut with my hatchet. I went forth as secretly as I could, minding to pass to Argire [*Algiers*].

I had not gone above three miles, when I espied a Moor, a very well favoured old man, who was weeding a field of wheat.

I spake to him in the tongue of Franke [*The* Lingua Franca *of the Mediterranean shore*], and called him to me. I, having my hatchet in my hand, cast it from me.

He came unto me; and, taking me by the hand, demanded very gently, What I would have?

I, perceiving that he did, even at the first sight, pity my poor and miserable estate, told him all things that had happened unto me: how I was an Englishman; how I had been captive in Argire; how I chanced to come to Genoa; their sending me to Majorca; and all the torment which I had suffered there; and finally my escape from thence, with all the rest that followed.

The charitable mind of a simple old man.

This good aged father, when he had heard of my lamentable discourse, shewing himself rather a Christian than a man brought up among the Turkish Mahometists, greatly pitied my misery; and forthwith led me home to his house, and caused such victuals as the country yieldeth to be set before me, which was dried wheat and honey: and baked a cake upon the fire hearth, and fried it with butter; which I thought very good meat, for I had not been at the like banquet in six years before [1582-1588]; the good father shewing me what comfort he could.

The old man still pitied him and did what lay in him to deliver him.

There I remained four and twenty hours. In the meantime the Moors which dwelt in the villages by, understanding of my being there, came; and, calling me forth, inquired of me, What I was? From whence I came? and Whither I would?: and, with great vehemency, charged their weapons against

my breast; insomuch that I thought they would verily have slain me. But mine host, that good old man, came forth and answered for me; and so dissuaded them from doing me any harm: and took me back again into his house.

This being past, I requested him to help me to a guide to conduct me to Argire: and he presently provided two, whereof the one was his son; to whom I promised to give four crowns for their pains.

So taking my leave of my good host, we took our way towards Argire.

When we had not passed above 24 miles on the way, we chanced to meet a Gentleman of that country who was, as it were, Purveyor to the King; and went about the country to take up corn and grain for the King's provision. He, meeting us upon the way, asked Whither we were travelling?

My guides answered, That we were going to Argire.

He asked, What had we to do there?

They said to deliver me there.

Then he demanded, What I was?

They told him, I was an Englishman that came from the Christian shore, and was bound towards Argire.

Then did this Gentleman take me from them, sending them back from whence they came; but compelled me to go with him to village by, and very earnestly persuaded me to turn Moor: promising, if I would, he would be a mean[s] to prefer me greatly; which I still denied.

Then, upon the next day, he carried me further, to a town called Tamgote [? *Tamgout*], and delivered me to a Nobleman of great authority with the King: which was Lieutenant-General for the wars. For this King of Cookooe holdeth continual war with the King of Argire; although they be both subject to the Great Turk.

I was no sooner brought before this Nobleman, but he demanded, Whether I would turn Moor?

I answered, That I would not.

Wherefore immediately he commanded a pair of shackles to be put on my heels; and a clasp of iron about my neck, with a chain thereat.

Then was I set on a mule, and conveyed to Cookooe, [*also spelt, in maps later than this narrative,* Couco *or* Cocou. *It was not far from the left bank of the river Sahel, that falls into the Bay of Bougiah, ? the present* Akbou], where the King lay.

When I was come thither, I was presently brought before the King: who inquired, What I was? and, From whence I came? and What my pretence was?

I answered, That I was an Englishman; and that I came from the Christian shore, intending to pass to Argire.

Then he asked me, What I could do?

I told him I could do nothing.

Then he demanded, Whether I were a Gunner? I said, "No."

Gunners are in great estimation with them.

Then he persuaded me very instantly to yield to their religion, offering to prefer me.

Wherefore I desired him to give me liberty to depart: "for my desire is to be in England, with my wife and children."

"Yea," said he, "but how wilt thou come there?"

For they minded to keep me still: and evermore the King assayed to seduce me with promises of great preferment, saying, If I would serve him and turn Moor: I should want nothing.

But on the contrary, I besought him to give me liberty to go to Argire; where I was in hope to be delivered, and sent home to mine own country.

Now he, seeing he could win me by no gentle means, commanded me to prison; saying, That he would either make me yield and turn Moor: or else I should die in captivity.

In this while that I remained in prison; divers of the King's House came to me, persuading me to yield to the King's demand: alleging how hardly the King might use me, being now in his power, unable to escape; and again how bountifully the King would deal with me, if I would submit myself.

Within a little time after, it happened there was great preparation to receive the King of Abbesse [? *the present tribe of the Beni-Abbas, or Beni-Abbès*], whose country adjoineth to the King of Cookooe's land: and [they] are in

league together, and join their armies in one against the King of Argire.

These men are nothing expert in Artillery.

Now, at his coming, I was fetched forth of prison, and commanded to charge certain pieces of ordnance, which were three Sacres and two Minions of Brass [a Minion weighed 1100 lbs.]; which I refused not to do, trusting thereby to get some liberty. Wherefore, at the coming of the King of Abbesse into the town, I discharged the ordnance as liked them very well: for they are not very expert in that exercise. For which I had some more liberty than before.

This King of Abbesse tarrying some certain time there, in consulting with the King of Cookooe for matters touching the Wars with Argire; and understanding of me, sent for me, being very desirous to talk with me: where, after certain questions he desired of the other King, that he might buy me; which he would not grant.

Very many offers of preferment to draw me from the Word of GOD.

Then the King of the Cabyles [*Kabyles*] or Cookooe persuaded me very seriously to serve him wil[ling]ly, and to turn Moor: and offered to give me 700 Doubles [? *the Double Pistoles, or Doubloons*] by the year, which amounteth to the sum of £50 [= £200 *now*] of English money; and moreover to give me by the day, 30 Aspers, which are worth twelve pence English, to find me meat; and likewise to give me a house, and land sufficient to sow a hundred bushels of grain yearly, and two Plow of oxen furnished, to till the same; also to furnish me with horse, musket, sword, and other necessaries, such as they of that country use. And lastly he offered to give me a wife, which they esteemed the greatest matter; for all buy their wives at a great price. Yea, if there were any in his Court could content me, I should make my choice: but if there were not; he would provide one to my contentment, whatsoever it should cost him.

But when he perceived all he said was in vain, he sent the Queen and her gentlewomen to talk with me. When she came, she very courteously entreated me to turn and serve the King, and to consider well what a large offer the king had made; saying, That I was much unlike to come to any like preferment in my country. And many times she would

shew me her gentlewomen, and ask me, If none of them could please me?

But I told her, I had a wife in mine own country, to whom I had vowed my faith before GOD and the World: "which vow," I said, "I would never break while we both lived."

Then she said, She could but marvel what she should be whom I esteemed so much as to refuse such offers of preferment, for her sake; being now where I must remain in captivity and slavery all the days of my life. But when she could prevail no way with me; when she had uttered these foresaid speeches, and many others which were frivolous to rehearse, she left me. Yet, by her means, I had more liberty than before.

After this, I was set to saw boards and planks; and was commanded to make a carriage for a piece of ordnance. Thus they compelled me to labour daily: which I did the more willingly, because I hoped still to get my liberty thereby in the end.

Then they willed me to shew the fashion of our edge tools, after the English [manner]: which when they saw the fashion; their smiths wrought them very artificially, and gave them very good temper. For these things I was had in more estimation; insomuch that they took off my irons, and let me walk abroad with a Keeper.

I was made Master of work, wherein I had small skill.

Then was I commanded by the King to teach the Carpenters to frame a house after the manner of English building: and for that purpose there were sent forth Carpenters and workmen with me to the woods, to fall timber; all which were to do what I appointed, upon the King's commandment. Now I, being Chief Master of the work, appointed out the trees which were very special good timber. In small time, we had finished our frame; which liked the King very well. By this means I had more liberty than before; and was very well intreated.

Yet I was greatly grieved in mind that I could not procure any means for my liberty; although at that time, I wanted few necessaries. Yet was I daily devising how I might escape away, for three special causes:

One was for the special care I had of my salvation: because, as you have heard, there were many temptations laid before me to draw me from a Christian to be an abominable idolator.

The second cause was for the love and dutiful allegiance which I owe to my Prince [*Sovereign*] and natural country.

The third was the regard of the vow which I vowed in matrimony; and the care of my poore wife and children.

Which causes moved me so much that whereas, by reason of my diligence in these foresaid matters, I [was] walking abroad with my Keeper who, not suspecting me, was not so attentive as before he had been: so soon as our frame was finished, I took opportunity; and, shewing them a clean pair of heels, took my way over the mountains intending to go for Argire [*which was in a north-westerly direction*].

But presently there was a great store of men, both on horseback and on foot: who, being more perfect in the way than I was, quickly overtook me; and carried me back again to Cookooe.

I was presently brought before the King; who asked me Why I ran away?

I told him, To have liberty.

Then he called certain of his servants to him; and commanded them to lay me down at his feet, which four of them did: and laying me flat upon the belly, one of them gave me 75 stripes with a great cudgel, till I was not able to remove out of the place.

Then the King commanded to carry me to prison again: whither two of them carried me and put me in irons, and there left me. Where I remained for the space of two months.

I was now made a Water-bearer.

Then was I brought forth of prison, and sent daily to a fountain or well, about half a league from the town, to fetch water with a couple of asses, for the use of the King's House.

Now, in this time, many artificers (as Smiths, Joiners, and

Carpenters, and many others) came to me to understand the fashion of many English tools (as plane irons, gouges, chisels and such like); for which they shewed me some favour, and gave me some money.

And when I had gotten a little money, I bestowed it upon apparel, and caused it to be made like to theirs: which I carried secretly, when I went to fetch water, and did hide it in a dry cave under the side of a rock. I bought me likewise a sword and a lance, such as they use to travel with. I also provided a file. All which I laid up with my apparel.

It happened that the King of Abbesse came again to visit the King, and to take counsel about warlike affairs; as usually they did.

Wherefore when they heard of his coming, making great preparation for him; it fell out so that there wanted water in the Offices [*Kitchens &c.*], where, in an evening, there was exceeding thunder and rain and lightning; so that there was no man would go for water, but everyone [was] calling for the Englishman.

Then I, which durst say no "Nay!", took the vessels and hung them upon the asses; and so went, through rain and wind and thunder and all, till I came to the well: where I left my asses to wander whither they would, and went to my apparel and with my file cut off my irons, and made me ready in my suit of Moors' clothing, and, with my sword by my side and my lance on my shoulder, took my way once again towards Argire.

And that night I went about 20 miles over rocks and mountains, keeping myself out of beaten ways, casting [*directing*] my way by the moon and stars. When the day began to be light, I lay me down in a brake of thick bushes; and there I slept the most part of the day: and in the evening I began to travel forth on my way.

Now, on the third night, I was to pass a bridge where was continual watch and ward, both day and night; where I must of necessity pass, by reason the river [? *the river Isser*] ran betwixt two mountains: which were so steep that no man can neither go down to enter [the] water, nor yet being in can by any possible means get up on the other side; which river is a great defence to the country.

Where I used no delay, but entered the bridge in the beginning of the night, about nine of the clock, being in great doubt [*fear*] of the Watch. But at the first end of the bridge, I saw no man, until I was happily passed over. Then there came one after me, and asked, Who goes there?

It being somewhat dark, and I in apparel and with my weapons like a Moor; [I] answered boldly, That I was a friend, and told him, I was coming to the Governor to deliver letters from the King. For near the river's side there is a village where dwelleth he who hath charge of the keeping of this passage. Whereby I went onward through the village.

But before I was far passed, I heard horsemen upon the bridge; which asked, Whether any man had passed that night?

The watermen told them, There was one gone, even now, which said, He went to deliver the King's letters to the Officer.

But I thought [it] no time now to hear any more of their talk; but betook me to my heels: and so soon as I was without the town, I went out of the Port way [*the road to Algiers*] into [the] woods; and kept desert ways that night and day following.

And the next night, I came within the liberties of the King of Argire; where I knew the Cabyles [*Kabyles*] could not fetch me back again.

Many dangerous wild beasts in that country.

In this order I escaped their hands, by the mighty power of GOD. For understand, in these desert mountains there are all manner of wild beasts, in great number; as lions, bears, wolves of marvellous bigness, apes, wild swine; and also wild horses and asses, with many other hurtful beasts: yet was I never in danger of any of them.

In this country of Cabyles, there are divers kinds of very pure metals, as gold, silver, and lead; and good iron and steel: but they, for want of knowledge and skill, make no use of any metal except iron and steel. Although at such times I have been present, while the Smiths have tried their iron, I have seen, among the dross of the iron, very perfect

gold. Which they, perceiving me to behold, were very inquisitive to understand, Whether it were gold, or any other metal of substance?

But I told them, It was but a kind of dross whereof we made colours for painting in England.

They carried me out to the mountains, and shewed me the rocks where they gathered their iron; which rocks had veins of very pure gold. Which I would not reveal to them, but answered as before: because I doubted [*feared*] if the King once knew me to have experience in such mysteries, he would keep me the more straight[ly]; whereby I might have remained in bondage during my life.

Now when I was within the country of Argire, I was out of dangers from the pursuers; and then did I walk by day and kept the common ways.

Where, coming within the view of Argire, upon the way I met a Turk who knew me at the first sight; and demanded, If I had not been captive with such a man?

I said, "Yes."

He then inquired, Whether I went to the city?

I said, "Yes."

Then turned he back, and did accompany me to the city.

When I came there, I would have gone to the English House; but he led me violently to my old Master [p. 372], where I rested me a day and night: my Master not being very earnest, for because, in this time that I was absent [1587-1588], all the English captives were redeemed and sent home.

Wherefore I went to the English Consul, hoping to be presently [*instantly*] delivered: who gave me very good words, but did not shew me that favour which he professed.

I could make some discourse of his unkind dealing with me and others of our countrymen; which I will leave till [a] more fit occasion.

For, understand, that while I was with him, there came a messenger from my old Master, with whom I was before I went to Genoa [*in the previous year*, 1587]; who would have carried me away by force: but I would not go, requesting the Consul to take order for my delivery.

But he persuaded me to go with him, saying, that he would, in time, provide for my liberty.

But by means I would not yield to go to my Master, nor yet the Consul would not take order for me: I was taken by the King's Officers, and put in chains in the King's prison, among other captives.

And at the next setting out of the gallies, I was put to my old occupation; where I remained a galley slave for three years and above after [1588–1592.] In which time, I was eight voyages at sea: and at such times as the gallies lay in harbour, I was imprisoned with the rest of the captives, where our ordinary food was bread and water; and, at some times, as once or twice in a week, a small quantity of sodden wheat.

To conclude, I passed my time in sickness and extreme slavery until, by the help of an honest Merchant [? *Master RICHARD STAPAR or STAPERS*, of this city of London, and having a very fit opportunity by means of certain [of] our English ships which were ready to set sail, bound homeward, upon Christmas Even, being the 24th of December 1592, I came aboard [*at Algiers*] the *Cherubim* of London; which, weighing anchor, and having a happy gale, arrived in England towards the end of February [1593] following.

Thus have you heard how it hath pleased the Almighty GOD, after many and great miseries, to bring me to the port which I longed greatly to see: beseeching GOD, of his mercy, to prolong the days of our most gracious and renowned Queen; whose fame reacheth far, and whose most happy government is in admiration with foreign Princes.

So wishing all to the glory of GOD, and
[the] furtherance of the Gospel,
I end.

FINIS.

REV. RICHARD HAKLUYT.

The antiquity of the trade with English ships into the Levant.

Rev. RICHARD HAKLUYT.

The antiquity of the trade with English ships into the Levant.

[*Voyages.* 1599.]

IN THE years of our Lord 1511, 1512 &c. till the year 1534; divers tall ships of London, namely the *Christopher Campion*, wherein was factor one ROGER WHITCOME; the *Mary George*, wherein was factor WILLIAM GRESHAM; the great *Mary Grace*, the owner whereof was WILLIAM GUNSON, and the Master one JOHN HELY; the *Trinity Fitz Williams*, whereof was Master, LAWRENCE ARKEY; the *Matthew* of London, whereof was Master, WILLIAM CAPLING; with certain other ships of Southampton and Bristol: had an ordinary and usual trade to Sicily, Candia, Scio; and somewhiles to Cyprus, as also to Tripolis and Barrutti [*Beyrout*] in Syria. The commodities which they carried thither were fine kerseys of divers colours, coarse kerseys, white "Western dozens," cottons, certain cloths called "statutes" and others called "cardinal whites," and calfskins which were well sold in Sicily &c. The commodities which they returned [*brought*] back were silks, camlets, rhubarb, malmseys muscadels and other wines, sweet oils, cotton wool, Turkey carpets, galls, pepper, cinnamon and some other spices, &c. Besides the natural inhabitants of the aforesaid places, they had, even in those days, traffic with Jews, Turks, and other foreigners. Neither did our merchants only employ their own English shipping before mentioned; but that of sundry strangers also: as, namely, Candiots, Raguseans, Sicilians, Genoese, Venetian galleasses, Spanish and Portuguese ships. All which particulars do most evidently appear out of certain ancient ligier books [*ledgers*] of the Right Worshipful Sir WILLIAM LOCK, Mercer of London, of Sir WILLIAM BOWYER, Alderman of London, of Master JOHN GRESHAM, and of others; which I RICHARD HAKLUYT have diligently perused and copied out.

A voyage made with the ships called the *Holy Cross* and the *Matthew Gonson* to the isles of Candia and Scio about the year 1534: according to a relation made to Master RICHARD HAKLUYT, by JOHN WILLIAMSON, Cooper and Citizen of London, who lived in the year 1592. He went as Cooper in the *Matthew Gonson* the next voyage after.

THE ships called the *Holy Cross* and the *Matthew Gonson*, made a voyage to the islands of Candia and Scio in Turkey about the year 1534. And in the *Matthew* went as Captain, Master RICHARD GONSON, son of old Master WILLIAM GONSON, Paymaster of the King's Navy. In this first voyage went WILLIAM HOLSTOCKE—who afterwards was Controller of Her Majesty's Navy, and lately deceased—as page to Master RICHARD GONSON aforesaid: which Master GONSON died at Scio in this his first voyage.

The ship called the *Holy Cross* was a short ship, and of 160 tons burden. And having been a full year at sea in performance of this voyage, with great danger she returned home: where upon her arrival at Blackwall in the river Thames, her wine and oil casks were found to be so weak, that they were not able to hoist them out of the ship: but were constrained to draw them as they lay, and put their wine and oil into new vessels, and so to unload the ship. Their chief freight was very excellent Muscatels and red Malmsey: the like whereof were seldom seen before in England. They brought home also a good quantity of sweet oils, cotton wools, Turkey carpets, galls, cinnamon and some other spices. The said ship called the *Holy Cross* was so shaken in this voyage, and so weakened; that she was laid up in the dock, and never made a voyage after.

Another voyage to the isles of Candia and Scio made by the *Matthew Gonson* about the year 1535: according to the relation of JOHN WILLIAMSON, then Cooper in the same ship; made to Master RICHARD HAKLUYT in the year 1592.

THE good ship called the *Matthew Gonson*, of 300 tons burden—whereof was owner old Master WILLIAM GONSON, Paymaster of the King's Navy—made her voyage in the year 1535. In this ship went as Captain, RICHARD GRAY, who long after died in Russia. Master WILLIAM HOLSTOCKE—afterwards Controller of the Queen's Navy—went then as Purser in the same voyage. The Master was one JOHN PICHET, servant to old Master WILLIAM GONSON. JAMES RUMNIE was Master's Mate. The Master Cooper was JOHN WILLIAMSON citizen of London, living in the year 1592, and dwelling in Saint Dunstan's parish in the East. The Master Gunner was JOHN GODFREY of Bristol.

In this ship were six gunners and four trumpeters. All which four trumpeters at our return homewards, went on land at Messina in the island of Sicily, as our ship rode there at anchor; and got themselves into the galleys that lay near unto us, and in them went to Rome. The whole number of our company in this ship was about a hundred men. We were also furnished with a great boat, which was able to carry ten tons of water: which at our return homewards we towed all the way from Scio until we came through the Straits of Gibraltar into the main ocean. We had also a great long boat, and a skiff.

We were out upon this voyage eleven months; yet in all this time there died of sickness but one man; whose name was GEORGE FORREST, being servant to our Carpenter called THOMAS PLUMMER.

IN A great ligier book [*ledger*] of one WILLIAM EYRUS, servant unto Sir WILLIAM BOWYER, Alderman of London—bearing date the 15th of November 1533 and continued until the 4th of July, 1544—I find that he the said WILLIAM EYRUS was factor in Scio, not only for his master, and for his grace the Duke of NORFOLK, but also for many others, worshipful merchants of London: among whom I find the accounts of these especially, to wit, of his said master Sir WILLIAM BOWYER; of WILLIAM and NICHOLAS WILFORD, Merchant Tailors of London; of THOMAS CURTIS, Pewterer; of JOHN STARKY Mercer; of WILLIAM OSTRIGE Merchant; and of RICHARD FIELD Draper.

And further I find in the said ligier book a note of the said EYRUS, of all such goods as he left in the hands of ROBERT BYE in Scio; who became his master's factor in his room: and another like note of particulars of goods that he left in the hands of OLIVER LESSON, servant to WILLIAM and NICHOLAS WILFORD.

And for proof of the continuance of this trade until the end of the year 1552: I found annexed unto the former note of the goods left with ROBERT BYE in Scio, a letter being dated the 27th of November 1552 in London.

EDWARD WRIGHT, Mathematician.

The Voyage of the Earl of CUMBERLAND *to the Azores &c., in* 1589.

Although this cruize seems, from PURCHAS's *Pilgrims* iv. *p.* 1141, *Ed.* 1625, to have gained 100 *per cent.* profit; yet it was a singularly unlucky one. They missed the Fleet of Portuguese Carracks, in which LINSCHOTEN came back from Goa, *see pp.* 93, 96, 188; they missed enormous treasure at Fayal, *see p.* 103; and though they actually saw the Spanish West Indian Squadron going into Angra, *see pp.* 104, 197-8, the wind being contrary, robbed them of their prey; and, finally, their best prize was wrecked off Cornwall.

[*Certain Errors in Navigation, &c.* 1599.]

THE Right Honourable the Earl of CUMBERLAND, having, at his own charges, prepared his small fleet, of four vessels only (*viz.*, the *Victory*, one of the Queen's royal ships; the *Meg*, and *Margaret*, small ships, one of which also he was forced soon after to send home again, finding her not able to endure the sea; and a small Caravel), and having assembled together about four hundred men, or fewer (of gentlemen, soldiers, and sailors), embarked himself and them, and set sail from the Sound of Plymouth, in Devonshire, the 18th of June 1589: being accompanied with these Captains and gentlemen, which hereafter follow:

Captain CHRISTOPHER LISTER, a man of great diligence, courage, and resolution; Captain EDWARD CARELESS, *alias* WRIGHT, who, in Sir FRANCIS DRAKE's West Indian Voyage [1586], was Captain of the *Hope*; Captain BOSWELL, Captain MERVIN, Master Henry LONGE, Master PARTRIDGE, Master NORTON, Master, now [*i.e.*, *in* 1599] Sir WILLIAM MONSON, Captain of the *Meg*; Master PIGEON, Captain of the Caravel.

About three days after our departure from Plymouth, we met with three French ships; whereof, one was of Newhaven [*Hâvre*] and another of Saint Malo; so, finding them to be Leaguers and lawful prize, we took them: and sent two of them for England with all their lading (which, for the most

part, was fish from Newfoundland); saving that there was a part thereof distributed among our small fleet, as we could find stowage for the same. In the third, all their men were sent home into France.

The same day, and the following day, we met with some other ships; which (when, after some conference had with them, we perceived plainly to be of Rotterdam and Embden, bound for Rochelle) we dismissed.

The 28th and 29th, we met divers of our English ships returning from the Portugal Voyage [*i.e.*, *the Expedition with Don* ANTONIO *to Lisbon*].

The 13th of July, being Sunday, in the morning, we espied eleven ships, out of sight of the coast of Spain, in 39° N.: which we presently prepared for, and provided to meet; having first set forth the *Meg* before us, to descry whence they were. The *Meg* approaching near, there passed some shot between them; whereby, as also by their admiral [*i.e.*, *flag ship*] and vice-admiral putting forth their flags, we perceived some fight was likely to follow.

Having therefore fitted ourselves for them, we made what haste we could towards them; with regard always, to get the wind of them: and about ten or eleven o'clock, we came up to them, with the *Victory*. But after some few shot, and some little fight had passed betwixt us; they yielded themselves: and the Masters of them all came aboard us, showing their several passports from the cities of Hamburg and Lubeck, from Bremen, Pomerania, and Calice.

They had in them certain bags of pepper and cinamon, which they confessed to be the goods of a Jew in Lisbon; which should have been carried by them into their own country, to his Factor there: so finding it, by their own confession, to be lawful prize, the same was, soon after, taken, and divided among our whole company. The value whereof, was esteemed to be, about 4,500 lbs., at 2*s*. [=12*s*. *now*] the pound.

The 17th day, the foresaid ships were dismissed; but seven of their sailors, that were willing to go along with us as sailors, we took to help us: and so held on our course for the Azores.

Two days after, some of their sailors remaining with us, reported that the said Easterlings' ships had also in them £20,000 [=*about* £120,000 *now*] worth of Spaniard's goods; but then, it was too late to search them.

The 1st of August [*O. S.*], being Friday, in the morning, we had sight o fthe island of St. Michael's, being one of the eastermost of the Azores; towards which, we sailed all that day. And at night, having put forth a Spanish flag in our maintop, that so they might the less suspect us; we approached near to the chief town and road of that island: where we espied three ships riding at anchor, and some smaller vessels. All which, we determined to take in the dark of the night, and accordingly attempted, about ten or eleven o'clock; sending our boats well manned, to cut their cables and hawsers, and let them drive into the sea. Our men coming to them, found that one of those greatest ships, was the *Falcon*, of London; being there under a Scottish pilot, who bare the name of her as his own. But three other smaller ships, that lay near under the Castle there, our men let loose, and towed them away unto us: most of the Spaniards, that were in them, leapt overboard, swimming to the shore, with loud and lamentable outcries; which they of the town hearing, were in an uproar, and answered with like crying. The Castle discharged some great shot at our boats; but shooting without mark, by reason of the darkness, they did us no hurt.

The Scots likewise discharged three great geeces [*guns*] into the air, to make the Spaniards think they were their friends and our enemies: and shortly after, the Scottish Master, and some others with him, came aboard to my Lord, doing their duty, and offering their service, &c. These three ships were freighted with wine and salad oil, from Seville.

The same day, our Caravel chased a Spanish caravel to shore at St. Michael's, which carried letters thither; by which we learned, that the Carracks were departed from Terceira eight days before [*LINSCHOTEN states that they first left on 8th August, N.S., which would be 30th July, O.S., or the Wednesday before this Friday; and returned on 13th, N.S., i.e., 3rd August O.S.: and that Lord CUMBERLAND passed Angra on the previous day, the 2nd, O.S. What a piece of bad luck for the English!*]

The 7th of August, we had sight of a little ship, which we chased towards Terceira, with our pinnace; the weather being calm: and, towards evening, we overtook her. There was in her 30 tuns of good Madeira wine, certain woollen cloth, silk, taffata, &c.

The 14th of August, we came to the island of Flores: where

we determined to take in some fresh water and fresh victuals; such as the island did afford. So we manned our boats with some 120 men, and rowed towards the shore. Whereto, when we approached, the inhabitants that were assembled at the landing place, put forth a flag of truce: whereupon we also did the like.

When we came to them, my Lord gave them to understand by his Portuguese interpreter, that "He was a friend to their King Don ANTONIO, and came not in any way to injure them; but that he meant only to have some fresh water and fresh victuals of them, by way of exchange for some provisions that he had as oil, wine, or pepper." To which they presently agreed willingly; and sent some of their company for beefs [*oxen*] and sheep.

We, in the mean season, marched southward about a mile, to Santa Cruz; from whence all the inhabitants, young and old, were departed, and not anything of value left. We demanding of them, "What was the cause thereof?" they answered, "Fear! as their usual manner was, when any ships came near their coast."

We found that part of the island to be full of great rocky barren hills and mountains, little inhabited by reason that it is molested with Ships of war; which might partly appear by this town of Santa Cruz, being one of their chief towns; which was all ruinous, and as it were, but the relics of the ancient town: which had been burnt, about two years before [*August* 1587], by certain English Ships of war [*under Sir RICHARD GRENVILLE*], as the inhabitants there reported.

At evening, as we were rowing towards the *Victory*, a huge fish [? *shark*] pursued us, for the space of well nigh two miles together: distant for the most part, from the boat's stern not a spear's length; and sometimes so near, that the boat struck upon him. The tips of whose fins about the gills, appearing oftimes above the water, were, by estimation, four or five yards asunder; and his jaws gaping a yard and a half wide. Which put us in fear of the overturning of the pinnace: but, GOD be thanked! rowing as hard as we could, we escaped.

When we were about Flores, a little ship called the *Drake*, brought us word that the Carracks were at Terceira. [*They had returned for water, see p.* 96.] Of which news, we were very glad; and sped us thitherward, with all the speed we could.

By the way, we came to Fayal road [*harbour*], the 27th of August, after sunset; where we espied certain ships riding at anchor: to whom we sent the *Saucy Jack* (a small ship lately consorted with us) and our skiff, well manned. With which ships, our men had a fight about an hour in the night: the town also discharging their great ordnance from the platform [*battery*] there, in defence of those ships; wherewith the Master of our Caravel was hurt. But, in the end, our men brought them all out of the harbour, being six in number; whereof one was of 250 tons, laden with sugar, ginger, hides, &c., lately come from the West Indies. Two of the worst, we let float on the sea; having first taken out of them such things as we liked. The other four were sent for England, the 30th day of August.

At the taking of these prizes, were consorted with us some other small Men of war, as [*the celebrated*] Master JOHN DAVIS with his ship, pinnace and boat; Captain MARKSBURY with his ship, whose owner was Sir WALTER RALEIGH; the Bark of Lyme, which was also consorted with us before.

The 31st of August, in the morning, we came in sight of Terceira, being about nine or ten leagues from the shore: where we espied coming towards us, a small boat under sail; which seemed somewhat strange to us, being so far from land, and no ship in sight to which they might belong. But coming near, they put us out of doubt; showing they were Englishmen, eight in number, that had lately been prisoners in Terceira, and finding opportunity to escape at that time, with that small boat, committed themselves to the sea, under GOD's providence: having no other yard for their mainsail but two pipe staves tied together by the ends; and no more provision of victuals than they could bring in their pockets and bosoms. [*See LINSCHOTEN's account of this escape.*]

Having taken them all into the *Victory*; they gave us certain intelligence that the Carracks were departed from thence, about a week before [*or rather, as LINSCHOTEN says, on 3rd August, O.S.*

Thus being without any further hope of those Carracks; we resolved to return to Fayal, with intent to surprise the town. But, until the 9th of September, we had either the wind so contrary or the weather so calm, that, in all that time, we

made scarce nine or ten leagues' way, lingering up and down, not far from Pico.

The 10th September, being Wednesday, in the afternoon, we came again to Fayal road: whereupon, immediately, my Lord sent Captain LISTER, with one of the island of Graciosa, whom Captain MONSON had taken before, and some others towards Fayal. Whom, certain of the inhabitants met in a boat, and came with Captain LISTER, to my Lord. To whom, he gave this choice, "Either to suffer him quietly to enter into the platform [*battery*] there, without resistance; where he and his company would remain a space, without offering any injury to them, that they," the inhabitants, "might come unto him, and compound for the ransom of the town: or else, to stand to the hazard of war."

With these words, they returned to the town; but the keepers of the platform answered that "it was against their oath, and allegiance to King PHILIP, to give over without fight." [*These were the Portuguese inhabitants, not Spanish soldiers.*

Whereupon, my Lord commanded the boats of every ship to be presently [*at once*] manned; and, soon after, landed his men on the sandy shore, under the side of a hill, about half a league to the northwards, from the platform. Upon the top of which hill, certain horsemen and footmen showed themselves. Two other companies also appeared, with ancients [*flags or ensigns*] displayed; the one before the town, upon the shore by the seaside, which marched towards our landing-place, as though they would encounter us; the other in a valley to the southwards of the platform, as if they would have come to help the townsmen. During which time, they in the platform, also played upon us with great ordnance.

Notwithstanding, my Lord, having set his men in order, marched along upon the sands, betwixt the sea and the town, towards the platform, for the space of a mile or more: and then (the shore growing rocky, and permitting no further progress without much difficulty) he entered into the town, and passed through the street without resistance, unto the platform. For those companies before mentioned, at my Lord's approach, were soon dispersed; and suddenly vanished.

Likewise they of the platform, being all fled, at my Lord's

coming thither, left him and his company to scale the walls, to enter and take possession without resistance.

In the meantime, our ships ceased not to batter the foresaid town and platform with great shot, till such time as we saw the Red Cross of England flourishing upon the forefront thereof.

This Fayal is the principal town in all that land, and is situated directly over against the high and mighty mountain Pico, lying towards the west-north-west, from that mountain: being divided therefrom by a narrow sea, which, at that place, is, by estimation, about some two or three leagues in breadth.

The town contained some three hundred households. Their houses were fair, strongly built of lime and stone, and double covered with hollow tiles, much like our roof tiles; but that they are less at one end than the other, in the manner of a concave semi-conical figure. The first course lieth with the hollow sides and great ends upward; the lesser end of one tile lying always within the greater end of the other, in such sort, as, all along the house from the roof to the eves, they make so many gutters as there are courses of tiles laid.

The second courses are laid with round sides, and lesser ends upwards, covering under their hollowness the edges of the former courses, in such sort that all the rain that falleth, slideth off from the backs of the tiles that are laid in the second courses, and runneth down the foresaid gutters, without taint or infection of mortar or mire; and so, being received into cisterns, supplieth very well their necessary uses of fresh water: whereof, otherwise, there is great want in that place.

Every house almost had, for this purpose, a cistern or well in a garden on the back side; in which gardens grew vines, with ripe clusters of grapes, making pleasant shadows; tobacco (now [*i.e.*, 1599] commonly known and used in England) wherewith their women there dye their faces reddish to make them seem fresh and young; Indian and common pepper, fig trees bearing both white and red figs, peach trees not growing very tall, oranges, lemons, quinces, potato roots [*i.e.*, *our potatoes*], &c. Sweet wood (cedar, I think) is very common there, even for building and firing.

My Lord having possessed himself of the town and platform, and being careful of the preservation of the town, gave commandment that "no mariner or soldier should enter into

any house to make spoil thereof." Especially, was he careful that the Churches, and Houses of Religion there, should be kept inviolate : which was accordingly performed through his appointment of guarders and keepers for those places. But the rest of the town (either for want of knowledge of the former inhibition, or for desire of spoil and prey) was rifled and ransacked by the soldiers and mariners ; who scarcely left any house unsearched : out of which they took such things as liked them, as chests of sweet wood, chairs, cloth, coverlets, hangings, bedding and apparel. And further, they ranged into the country ; where some of them also were hurt by the inhabitants.

The Friary there, containing and maintaining thirty Franciscan friars (amongst whom, we could not find any one able to speak true Latin), was built by a friar of Angra, in Terceira, of the same order, about the year of our Lord, 1506. The tables in the hall had seats for one side only, and were always covered, as ready at all times, for dinner or supper.

From Wednesday [10*th*] in the afternoon, at which time we entered the town, until Saturday night, we continued there; until the inhabitants had agreed and paid for the ransom of the town 2,000 ducats [= £533 6*s*. *then* = *about* £3,000 *now*] ; most part of which was church plate.

We found in the platform, fifty-eight iron pieces of ordnance; whereof three-and-twenty, as I remember, or more were mounted upon their carriages, between barricades, upon a platform [*battery*] towards the seaside. All which ordnance we took, and set the platform on fire ; and so departed.

My Lord having invited to dinner in the *Victory*, on the Sunday [14*th*] following, so many of the inhabitants as would willingly come, save only DIEGO GOMEZ the Governor (who came but once only to parlee about the ransom) : only four came, and were well entertained ; and solemnly dismissed with sound of drum and trumpets, and a peal of ordnance. To whom, my Lord delivered his letter, subscribed with his own hand, importing a request to all other Englishmen, to abstain from any further molesting of them; save only for fresh water, and victuals necessary for their intended voyage.

During our abode here, *viz*., 11th of September, two men came out of Pico, who had been prisoners there. Also, at Fayal, we set at liberty a prisoner translated from St. Jago;

who was cousin to a servant of Don ANTONIO, King of Portugal in England. These prisoners we detained with us.

On Monday [15*th*], we sent our boats ashore for fresh water, which, by reason of the rain that fell in the former night, came plentifully running down the hills; and would otherwise have been hard to get there.

On Tuesday [16*th*] likewise, not having yet sufficiently served our turns, we sent again for fresh water: which was then not so easy to be got as the day before, by reason of a great wind; which, in the afternoon, increased also in such sort that we thought it not safe to ride so near the land. Whereupon we weighed anchor, and so departed north-west-by-west, along the coast of Fayal island.

Some of the inhabitants coming aboard to us, this day, told us that, always, about that time of the year, such west-south-west winds blew on that coast.

This day, as we sailed near Saint George's Island, a huge fish, lying still, a little under water or rather even therewith, appeared hard by, ahead of us; the sea break upon his back, which was black coloured, in such sort, as deeming, at the first, it had been a rock, and the ship stemning directly with him, we were put in a sudden fear for the time; till, soon after, we saw him move out of the way.

In the night of September 16th, it lightned much; whereupon, there followed great winds and rain, which continued September 17th–21st.

The 23rd of September, we came again into Fayal road, to weigh an anchor, which, for haste and fear of foul weather, we had left there before. Where we went ashore to see the town; the people, as we thought, having now settled themselves there again. But, notwithstanding, many of them, through too much distrustfulness, departed, or prepared to depart with their packets, at the first sight of us: until such time as they were assured by my Lord that our coming was not in any way to injure them; but especially [*principally*] to have fresh water and some other things needful for us, contenting them for the same.

So then we viewed the town quietly, and bought such things as we desired for our money, as if we had been in England: and they helped to fill us with fresh water; receiving for their pains, such satisfaction as contented them.

The 25th day, we were forced again to depart from thence, before we had sufficiently watered, by reason of a great tempest that suddenly arose in the night; insomuch that my Lord himself, soon after midnight, raised our men out of their cabins to weigh anchor: himself also together with them hauling at the capstan; and, after, cheering them up with wine.

The next day, we sent our caravel and *Saucy Jack* to the road of Saint Michael, to see what they could espy. We following after them, upon the 27th day, plying to and fro, came within sight of Saint Michael's; but, by contrary winds, the 28th–30th days, we were driven to leeward, and could not get near the island.

The 31st day, we sailed along Terceira; and even against Bresil (a promontory near to Angra, the strongest town in that island), we espied some boats coming to the town, and made towards them: but they being near to land, they ran to shore and escaped us.

In the afternoon, we came near to Graciosa, whereupon my Lord forthwith sent Captain LISTER to the islanders, to let them understand that his desire was only to have water and wine of them and some fresh victuals; and not any further to trouble them. They answered "They could give no resolute answer to this demand until the Governor of the island had consulted thereupon; and therefore desired him to send again the next day."

Upon the 1st of October, early in the morning, we sent forth our long boat and pinnace with empty caske, and about some fifty or sixty men; together with the *Margaret* and Captain DAVIS his ship: for we now wanted [*were without*] all the rest of our consorts.

But when our men would have landed, the islanders shot at them, and would not suffer them: and troops of men appeared upon land, with ancients [*flags*] displayed to resist us. So our boats rowed along the shore to find some place where they might land without too much disadvantage; our ships and they still shooting at the islanders: but no place could be found where they might land without great peril of losing many of their lives. So they were constrained to retire, without receiving any answer, as was promised the day before.

We had three men hurt in this conflict. Whilst our boats

were together in consulting what was best to be done, two of them were struck with a great shot [*of a gun*] which the islanders drew from place to place with oxen; wherewith the one lost his hand, and the other his life within two or three days after. The third was shot in his neck with a small shot, without any great hurt.

With this news, our company returned back again at night; whereupon preparation was made to go to them again the next day. But the day was far spent before we could come near them with our ship; neither could we find any good ground to anchor in, where we might lie to to batter the town: and further, we could find no landing-place, without great danger to lose many men; which might turn not only to the overthrow of our voyage, but also put the Queen's ship in great peril, for want of men to bring her home.

Therefore my Lord thought it best to write to them to this effect, that "He could not a little marvel at their inhumanity and cruelty, which they had showed towards his men; seeing they were sent by him unto them in peaceable manner, to receive their answer which they had promised to give, the day before: and that were it not for Don ANTONIO, their lawful King his sake, he could not put up so great injury at their hands, without just revengement upon them. Notwithstanding, for Don ANTONIO his sake, whose friend he was, he was yet content to send to them, once again, for their answer."

At night, Captain LISTER returned with this answer from them, that "The gunner shot off one of their pieces which was charged with powder only, and was stopped; which our men thinking it had been shot at them, shot again, and so began the fight: and that the next morning, they would send my Lord a resolute answer to his demand; for, as yet, they could not know their Governor's mind herein."

The next morning, there came unto us a boat from the shore, with a flag of truce; wherein were three of the chief men of the island: who agreed with my Lord that he should have of them, sixty butts of wine and fresh victuals, to refresh himself and his company withal: but, as for fresh water, they could not satisfy our need therein, having themselves little or none, saving such as they saved in vessels or cisterns, when it rained; and they had rather give us two tuns of wine than one of water. But they requested that our

soldiers might not come on shore, for they themselves would bring all they had promised to the water side. Which request was granted, we keeping one of them aboard with us until this promise was performed, and the others we sent to shore, with our empty caske, and some of our men to help to fill and bring them away, with such other provision as was promised. So the *Margaret*, Captain DAVIS his ship, and another of Weymouth stayed, riding at anchor before the town, to take in our provision: but we, with the *Victory*, put off to sea. [*See p.* 200, etc.] This ship of Weymouth came to us the day before, and had taken a rich prize worth, as it was reported, £16,000, [=£96,000 *now*]: which brought us news that the West Indian Fleet was not yet come, but would come very shortly. But we, with the *Victory*, put off to sea.

And upon Saturday, the 4th of October, we took a French ship of St. Malo (a city of the unholy League) laden with fish from Newfoundland; which had been in so great a tempest that she was constrained to cut her mainmast overboard for her safety, and was now coming to Graciosa to repair herself. But so hardly it befell her, that she did not only not repair her former losses; but lost all that remained, to us. The chief of her men we took into our ship; and sent some of our men, mariners and soldiers into her, to bring her to England.

Upon the Sunday following, at night, all our promised provisions were brought unto us from Graciosa; and we friendly dismissed the islanders with a peal of ordnance.

Upon Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday we plied to and fro, about those islands; being very rough weather.

Upon Thursday [*9th of October*], at night, being driven some three or four leagues from Terceira; we saw fifteen sail of the West Indian Fleet coming into the haven of Angra in Terceira. But the wind was such, that, for the space of four days after, though we lay as close by the wind as was possible, yet we could not come near them. In this time, we lost our French prize, not being able to lie so near the wind as we: and heard no more of her till we came to England, where she safely arrived.

Upon Monday [*13th of October*], we came very near the haven's mouth; being minded to have run in amongst them, and to have fetched out some of them, if it had been possible. But in the end, the enterprise was deemed too dangerous,

considering the strength of the place where they rode; being hauled and towed in nearer the town, at the first sight of our approaching, and lying under the protection of the Castle of Bresil on the one side, having in it twenty-five pieces of ordnance; and a Fort on the other side, wherein were thirteen or fourteen great brass pieces.

Besides, when we came near land, the wind proved too scant for us to attempt any such enterprise.

Upon Tuesday, the 14th of October, we sent our boat to the road, to sound the depth, to see if there were any anchoring-place for us, where we might be without the shot of the Castle and the Fort, and within shot of some of those ships, that we might either make them come out to us, or sink them where they lay. Our boat returned, having found out such a place as we desired; but the wind would not suffer us to come near it: and again, if we could have anchored there, it was thought likely that they would rather run themselves aground to save their lives and liberty and some of their goods, than come forth to lose their liberties and goods to us, their enemies. So we shot at them, to see if we could reach them; but it fell far short.

And thus we departed; thinking it not probable that they would come forth so long as we watched for them, before the haven mouth or within sight of them. For the space of five days after, we put off to sea, and lay out of sight of them; and sent a pinnace to lie out of sight, close by the shore, to bring us word if they should come forth. After a while, the pinnace returned, and told us that those ships in the haven had taken down their sails and let down their topmasts: so that we supposed they would never come forth, till they perceived us to be quite gone. [*They left on 27th of October, and were nearly all taken by the English.*]

Wherefore, on the 20th of October, hearing that there were certain Scottish ships at St. Michael's, we sailed thither, and found there one Scottish roader [*i.e., ship in the road*]; and two or three more at Villa Franca, the next road, a league or two from the town of St. Michael's to the eastward: of whom, we had, for our relief, some small quantity of wine, *viz.*, some five or six butts of them all; and some fresh water: but nothing sufficient to serve our turn.

Upon Tuesday, the 21st of October, we sent our long boat

to shore for fresh water, at a brook a little to the westward of Villa Franca: but the inhabitants espying us, came down with two ancients [*ensigns*] displayed, and about some 150 armed men, to withstand our landing. So our men having spent all their powder upon them, in attempting to land, and not being able to prevail at so great odds; returned frustrate.

From thence, we departed towards St. Mary's Island, minding to water there, and then to go for the coast of Spain. For we had intelligence that it was a place of no great force, and that we might water there very well.

Therefore, upon Friday following [*25th of October*], my Lord sent Captain LISTER, and Captain, now Sir AMIAS, PRESTON (who, not long before, came to us out of his own ship; and she losing us in the night, he was forced to tarry still with us) with our long boat and pinnace, and some sixty or seventy shot in them; both, with a friendly letter to the islanders that they would grant us leave to water, and we would no further trouble them. So we departed from the *Victory*, for the island, about nine o'clock in the forenoon, and rowed freshly until about three o'clock in the afternoon. At which time, our men being something weary with rowing, and being within a league or two of the shore and four or five leagues from the *Victory*, they espied, to their refreshing, two ships riding at anchor hard under the town: whereupon, having shifted some six or seven of our men into Captain DAVIS's boat, being too much pestered [*crowded*] in our own; and retaining with us some twenty shot in the pinnace, we made way towards them, with all the speed we could.

By the way, as we rowed, we saw boats passing betwixt the roaders and the shore, and men, in their shirts, swimming and wading to the shore; who, as we perceived afterwards were labouring to set those ships fast on ground: and the inhabitants also, as busily preparing themselves for the defence of these roaders, their island, and themselves.

When we came near them, Captain LISTER commanded the trumpets to be sounded; but prohibited any shot to be discharged at them until they had direction from him: but some of the company, either not well perceiving or regarding what he said, immediately, upon the sound of the trumpets, discharged their pieces at the islanders, who, for the most part, lay in trenches and fenced places unseen, to their own

best advantage: who immediately shot likewise at us, both with small and great shot, without danger to themselves.

Notwithstanding, Captain LISTER earnestly hastened forward the sailors that rowed, who began to shrink at the shot flying so fast about their ears; and he first entering one of the ships, that lay a little further from the shore, we speedily followed after him into her; still plying them with our shot. And having cut in sunder her cables and hawsers, we towed her away with our pinnace.

In the meantime, Captain DAVIS his boat overtook us, and entered into the other ship; which also, as the former, was forsaken by all her men. But they were constrained to leave her, and to come again into their boat, whilst shot and stones from the shore flew fast amongst them, finding her to stick so fast aground that they could not stir her: which the townsmen also perceiving, and seeing that they were but few in number, and that we, busied about the other ship, not coming to aid them, were preparing to have come and taken them. But they returned to us: and so together we came away towards the *Victory*, towing after us the prize we had now taken; which was lately come from Brazil, laden with sugar.

In this fight, we had two men slain, and sixteen wounded. And as for them, it is likely they had little hurt, lying, for the most part, behind stone walls, which were built, one above another, hard by the seaside, upon the end of the hill whereupon the town stood, betwixt two valleys. Upon the top of the hill lay their great ordnance, such as they had: wherewith they shot leaden bullets, whereof one pierced through the prize's side, and lay still in the ship, without doing any more harm.

The next day, we went again for water to the same island; but, not knowing before the inconvenience and disadvantage of the place, where we attempted to land; we returned frustrate.

The same night, 25th of October, we departed for St. George's Island for fresh water; whither we came on Monday following 27th of October: and having espied where a spout of water came running down, the pinnace and long boat were presently manned and sent under the conduct of Captain PRESTON and Captain MONSON; by whom, my Lord sent a letter to the

islanders as before, to grant us leave only to water, and we would no further trouble them. Notwithstanding, our men coming on shore, found some of the poor islanders; who, for fear of us, hid themselves amongst the rocks.

And on the Wednesday following [29th], our boats returned with fresh water; whereof they brought only six tuns for the *Victory*, alleging they could get no more, thinking, as it was supposed, that my Lord having no more provision of water and wine, but only twelve tuns, would not go for the coast of Spain, but straight for the coast of England; as many of our men greatly desired. Notwithstanding, my Lord was unwilling so to do, and was minded, the next day, to have taken in more water; but, through the roughness of the seas and wind, and the unwillingness of his men, it was not done.

Yet my Lord purposed not to return with so much provision unspent; and his voyage, as he thought, not yet performed, in such sort as might give some reasonable contentment or satisfaction to himself and others.

Therefore, because no more water could now conveniently be gotten, and being uncertain when it could be gotten, and the time of our staying abroad also uncertain, the matter being referred to the choice of the whole company, "Whether they would tarry longer till we might be more sufficiently provided of fresh water; or go, by the coast of Spain, for England, with half so much allowance of drink as before?" They willingly agreed that every mease [*mess*] should be allowed at one meal but half so much drink as they were accustomed, except those that were sick or wounded; and so to go for England, taking the coast of Spain in our way, to see if we could, that way, make up our voyage.

Upon Saturday, 31st of October [*O.S.*], we sent the *Margaret*, because she leaked much, direct for England; together with the prize of Brazil, which we took at St. Mary's: and in them, some of our hurt and wounded men, or men otherwise sick, were sent home, as they desired, for England.

But we held on our course for the coast of Spain, with a fair and a large wind; which before we seldom had. And, upon Tuesday following, 4th of November, we espied a sail right before us, which we chased till about three o'clock in

the afternoon: at which time, we on overtaking her, she struck sail; and being demanded, "Who was her owner, and from whence was she?" They answered, "A Portuguese, and from Pernambuco in Brazil."

She was a ship of some 110 tons burden, freighted with 410 chests of sugar, and 50 quintals [*about three tons*] of Brazil wood. We took her in 29° N., about 200 leagues from Lisbon westward. Captain PRESTON was presently sent unto her; who brought the principal of her men aboard the *Victory*: and certain of our men (mariners and soldiers) were sent aboard her. The Portuguese of this prize told us that "They saw another ship before them, that day about noon."

Having therefore despatched all things about the prize aforesaid, and left our long boat with Captain DAVIS, taking his lesser boat with us; we made way after this other ship, with all the sails we could bear; holding our course due east: and giving order to Captain DAVIS his ship and the prize that they should follow us, due east; and that if they had sight of us, the following morning, they should follow us still, if not, they should go for England.

The next morning, we espied not the sail which we chased; and Captain DAVIS his ship and the prize were behind us, out of sight.

But the next, Thursday, 6th of November, being in 38° 30′ N. Lat. and about some sixty leagues from Lisbon westward, early in the morning, Captain PRESTON descried a sail some two or three leagues ahead of us. After which, we presently hastened our chase; and overtook her about eight or nine o'clock before noon. She came lately from St. Michael's road; having been before at Brazil, and was ladened with sugar and Brazil [wood].

Having sent our boat to them, to bring some of the chief of their men aboard the *Victory*; in the meantime, whilst they were in coming to us, one out of the maintop espied another sail ahead, some three or four leagues from us.

So immediately, upon the return of our boat, having sent her back with some of our men aboard the prize; we pursued speedily this new chase, with all the sails we could pack on, and about two o'clock in the afternoon overtook her. She had made provision to fight with us, having hung the sides of the ship so thick with hides, wherewith especially she was

ladened, that musket shot could not have pierced them: but, ere we had discharged two great pieces of our ordnance at her, she struck sail; and approaching nearer, we asking "Whence they were?" They answered, "From the West Indies, and from Mexico. From St. John de Lowe [*St. Juan d'Ulloa, near Vera Cruz*]."

This ship was of some 300 or 400 tons, and had in her 700 hides, worth 10*s.* [= £3 *now*] a piece; six chests of cochineal, every chest holding 100 lbs. weight, and every pound worth 26*s.* 8*d.* [*the* 600 *lbs.* = £800 *then* = £4,800 *now*], and certain chests of sugar and china dishes; with some plate and silver. The captain of her was an Italian; and, by his behaviour, seemed to be a grave, wise, and civil man. He had put in adventure in this ship, 25,000 ducats [= £6,700 *then* = *about* £40,000 *now*].

We took him, with certain other of her chiefest men, which were Spaniards, into the *Victory*: and Captain LISTER, with so many other of the chiefest of our mariners, to the number of twenty or thereabouts, were sent into her. In the meantime, we staying; our other prizes which followed after, came up to us.

And now we had our hands full, and with joy shaped our course for England: for so it was thought meetest (having now so many Portuguese, Spaniards, and Frenchmen amongst us) that if we should have taken any more prizes afterwards, we had not been well able to have manned them; without endangering ourselves.

So, about six o'clock in the afternoon, when our other prize had overtaken us, we set sail for England. But our prizes not being able to bear us company without [our] sparing them many of our sails: which would cause our ship to roll and wallow, in such sort as it was not only very troublesome to us; but, as it was thought, would have put the mainmast in danger of falling overboard. Having acquainted them with these inconveniences; we gave them direction to keep their course together, following us, and so to come to Portsmouth.

We took this last prize in 39° N. Lat.; and about 46 leagues westwards from the Rock [of Lisbon]. She was one of those sixteen ships, which we saw going into the haven at Angra in Terceira, on the 8th of October. Some of

the men that we took out of her, told us that "Whilst we were plying up and down before that haven," as before was showed, "expecting the coming forth of those ships; three of the greatest and best of them, at the appointment of the Governor of Terceira, were unladened of their treasure and merchandise; and in every [*each*] of them, were put three hundred soldiers, which were appointed to have come and lay the *Victory* aboard in the night, and take her; but when this should have been done; the *Victory* had gone out of their sight."

Now we went merrily before the wind, with all the sails we could bear; insomuch that in the space of twenty-four hours, we sailed nearly forty-seven leagues, that is, seven score English miles, betwixt Friday at noon and Saturday at noon; notwithstanding the ship was very foul, and much grown, with long being at sea: which caused some of our company to make account they should see what running of the tilt there should be at Whitehall, upon the Queen's Day [*17th November*]. Others were imagining what a Christmas they would keep in England, with their shares of the prizes we had taken. But it so befell, that we kept a cold Christmas with the "Bishop and his Clerks;" rocks that lie to the westwards from Scilly [Islands], and the western parts of England.

For, soon after, the wind scanting, came about to the Eastward; the worst part of the heavens for us, from which the wind could blow; in such sort, that we could not fetch any part of England. And hereupon, also, our allowance of drink, which was scant enough before, was yet more scantened, because of the scarcity thereof: so that, now, a man was allowed but half a pint at a meal; and that, many times, cold water, and scarcely sweet. Notwithstanding this was a happy estate, in comparison to that which followed.

For from half a pint, we came to a quarter, and that lasted not long either: so that (by reason of this great scarcity of drink, and the contrariety of the wind) we thought to put into Ireland, there to relieve our wants. But when we came near thither, lying "at hull" at night (tarrying for the daylight of the next morning, whereby we might the safelier bring our ship into some convenient harbour there), we were driven so far to leeward, that we could fetch no part of Ireland.

So as, with heavy hearts and sad cheer, we were constrained to return back again; and expect, till it should please GOD to send us a fair wind either for England or Ireland. In the meantime, we were allowed every man three or four spoonsful of vinegar, to drink at a meal: for other drink we had none; saving only at two or three meals, when we had, instead thereof, as much wine, which was wringed out of the wine lees that remained.

With this hard fare (for by reason of our great want of drink, we durst eat but very little), we continued *for the space of a fortnight*, or thereabouts: saving, that, now and then, we feasted for it, in the meantime. And that was, when there fell any hail or rain. The hailstones we gathered up, and did eat them more pleasantly than if they had been the sweetest comfits in the world. The rain drops were so carefully saved, that, so near as we could, not one was lost in all our ship. Some hanged up sheets tied with cords by the four corners, and a weight in the midst that the water might run down thither; and so be received into some vessel set or hung underneath. Some that wanted sheets, hung up napkins and clouts, and watch them till they were thoroughly wet; then wringing and sucking out the water. And that water which fell down, and washed away, the filth and soiling of the ship, trod under foot, as bad as runneth down the kennel many times when it raineth, was not lost, I warrant you! but watched and attended carefully (yea, sometimes with strife and contention) at every scupper hole, or other place where it ran down, with dishes, pots, cans, jars. Some, like dogs, with their tongues, licked the boards underfoot; the sides, rails, and masts of the ship.

Others, that were more ingenious, fastened girdles or ropes about the masts, daubing tallow betwixt them and the mast, that the rain might not run down between; in such sort, that those ropes or girdles hanging lower on the one side than on the other, a spout of leather was fastened to the lowest part of them, that all the raindrops that came running down the mast, might meet together at that place, and there be received.

He that got a can of water by these means, was spoken of, sued to, and envied as a rich man.

Quam pulchrum digito monstrari et dicere hic est.

Some of the poor Spaniards that we had taken (who, notwithstanding, had the same allowance that our own men had) would come and crave of us, for the love of GOD! but so much water as they could hold in the hollow of their hand: and they had it, notwithstanding our great extremity; to teach them some humanity, instead of their accustomed barbarity, both to us and other nations heretofore. They also put bullets of lead in their mouths, to slack their thirst.

Now, in every corner of the ship, were heard the lamentable cries of sick and wounded men, sounding woefully in our ears; crying out and pitifully complaining for want of drink; being ready to die. Yea, many dying for lack thereof; so that, by reason of this great extremity we lost many more men than we had done in all the voyage before: having, before this time, been so well and sufficiently provided for, that we lived, in a manner, as well and as healthfully, and as few died, as if we had been in England; whereas now, lightly, every day, some were cast overboard.

But on the 2nd of December 1589 was a festival day with us. For then it rained a good pace, and we save some pretty store of rain water (though we were all wet for it, and that at midnight), and fill our own skins full besides, notwithstanding it were muddy and bitter with the washing of the ship; yet with some sugar, which we had, to sweeten it withal, it went merrily down. Yet remembered we, and wished for with all our hearts, many a conduit, pump, spring, and stream of clear sweet running water in England. For how ever miserable we had accounted some poor souls, whom we had seen driven for thirst to drink thereof: how happy would we now have thought ourselves, if we might have had our fills of the same!

Yet should we have fared the better with this our poor feasting, if we might have had our meat and drink (such, and so much as it was) stand quietly before us: but, besides all former extremities, we were so tossed and turmoiled with such horrible stormy and tempestuous weather, that every man had best hold fast his can, cup, or dish in his hands; yea, and himself too, many times, by the ropes, rails, or sides of the ship, or else he should soon find all under foot.

Herewith, our mainsail was torn from the yard, and blown overboard quite away into the sea without recovery: and our other sails so rent and torn, from side to side some of them, that hardly any of them escaped whole. The raging waves and foaming surges of the sea came rolling, like mountains, one after another; and over-raked the waist of the ship, like a mighty river running over it; whereas, in fair weather, it was nearly twenty feet above the water: and now, we might well cry out with the poet:

Heu misero quanti montes voluntur aquarum,
Jam, jam tacturos sidera summa putes.
Heu misero quanto subsidunt æquore valles,
Jam, jam tactura tartara nigra putes.

Yea, rather with the princely Prophet, *Psalm* cvii. 26: "They mount up to heaven, and descend to the deep; so that their souls melteth away for trouble: they reel to and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and all their cunning is gone."

With this extremity of foul weather, the ship was so tossed and shaken, that (by the cracking noise it made, and by the leaking, which was much more than ordinary) we were in great fear, it would have shaken in sunder. So that now also, we had just cause to pray a little otherwise than the poet; though marring his verse, yet mending by the meaning.

DEUS maris et cœli, quid enim nisi vota supersunt,
Solvere quassatæ parcite membra ratis.

Notwithstanding, it please GOD, of His great goodness, to deliver us out of this danger.

Then forthwith, a new mainsail was made and fastened to the yard; and the rest repaired, as time and place would suffer: which we had no sooner done, but yet, again, we were troubled with as great extremity as before. So that again, we were like to have lost our new mainsail; had not Master WILLIAM ANTONY, the Master of the ship, himself (when none else would, or durst) ventured upon the mainyard, which was let down close to the rails, to gather the sail up out of the sea, and to fasten it thereto; being in the meanwhile, ofttimes ducked, over head and ears, in the sea.

These storms were so terrible, that there were some in our company, who confessed they had gone to sea for the space of twenty years, and had never seen the like: and vowed that if ever they returned safe home, they would never come to sea again.

The 30th of November, at night, we met with an English ship, out of which (because it was too late that night) it was agreed that we should have had the next morning, two or three tuns of wine, which, they said, "was all the provision of drink they had, save only a butt or two, which they must needs reserve for their own use." But, after that, we heard no more of them, till they were set on ground [*landed*] upon the coast of Ireland: when it appeared that they might have spared us much more than they pretended they could; so that they might well have relieved our great necessities, and have had sufficient for themselves besides, to bring them to England.

The 1st of December, at night, we spoke with another English ship, and had some beer out of her; but not sufficient to carry us to England, so, that we were constrained to put into Ireland; the wind so serving.

The next day, we came to an anchor, not far from the Skelitee under the land and wind; where we had somewhat more quiet.

But that being no safe harbour to ride in, the next morning, we went about to weigh anchor; but, having some of our men hurt at the capstan, we were fain to give over, and leave it behind; holding on our course to Ventre [*Ventrey*] haven, where we safely arrived the same day: that place being a very safe and convenient harbour for us; that now might sing, as we had just cause, "They that go down to the sea, &c."

So soon as we had anchored here, my Lord went forthwith to the shore; and brought in presently fresh water and fresh victuals, as muttons [*sheep*], pigs, hens, &c., to refresh his company withal.

Notwithstanding, he himself had lately been very weak, and tasted of the same extremity that his company did: for, in the time of our former want, having a little fresh water left him, remaining in a pot; in the night, it was broken; and the water drunk, and dried up.

Soon after, the sick and wounded men were carried to the

next principal town, called Dingleacush, being about three miles to the Eastward of the foresaid haven, where our ship rode; that there, they might be the better refreshed: and had the surgeons, daily to attend upon them.

Here, we well refreshed ourselves, whilst the Irish harp sounded sweetly in our ear: and here, we, who (for the former extremities) were, in a manner, half dead, had our lives, as it were, restored to us again.

This Dingleacush is the chief town in all that part of Ireland. It consisteth but of one main street, from whence some smaller do proceed. On either side, it hath had gates, as it seemeth, in times past; at either end, to open and shut as a town of war: and a Castle too. The houses are very strongly built with thick stone walls, and narrow windows like unto castles: for, as they confessed, in time of trouble, by reason of the wild Irish or otherwise, they use their houses for their defence as castles.

The Castle and all the houses in the town, save four, were won, burnt, and ruinated by the Earl of DESMOND. These four houses fortified themselves against him; and withstood him and all his power, so that he could not win then. There yet remaineth a thick stone wall, that passeth overthwart the midst of the street; which was a part of their fortification. Notwithstanding whilst they thus defended themselves, they were driven, as some of them, yet alive, confessed, to as great extremities as the Jews were, when besieged by Titus, the Roman Emperor: insomuch that they were constrained to eat dead men's carcases for hunger. The town is again somewhat repaired; but, in effect, there remain but the ruins of the former town.

Commonly, they have no chimneys in their houses, excepting those of the better sort; so that the smoke was very troublesome to us, while we continued there. Their fuel is turf, which they have very good; and whinnes or furs. There groweth little wood thereabouts; which maketh building chargeable there: as also the want of lime, as they reported; which they are fain to fetch from far, when they have need thereof. But of stones, there is store enough: so that, they commonly make their hedges, to part each man's ground from another's, with them: and the ground seemeth to be nothing

else within, but rocks and stones. Yet it is very fruitful and plentiful of grass and grain, as may appear by the abundance of kine and cattle there; insomuch that we had good muttons [*sheep*], though somewhat less than ours in England, for 2*s.* [=12*s.* *now*] or five groats [1*s.* 8*d.* *then*=10*s.* *now*] a piece; good pigs, and hens, for 3*d.* [=1*s.* 6*d.* *now*] a piece.

Their great want is industrious, powerful, and husbandly inhabitants to till and trim the ground; for the common sort, if they can provide sufficient to serve from hand to mouth, take no further care.

Of money, as it seemeth, there is very small store amongst them: which, perhaps, was the cause that made them double and triple [*treble*] the prices of many things we bought of them; more than they were before our coming thither.

Good land was here to be had for four pence [=2s. *now*] the acre, yearly rent. There are mines of alum, tin, brass, and iron. We saw stones there as clear as crystal, naturally squared like diamonds.

That part of the country is all full of great mountains and hills; from whence, came running down the pleasant streams of sweet fresh running water.

[This luscious description of Spring Water was, doubtless, excited by the Writer's recollections of his former thirst.]

The natural hardness of that nation appeareth in this, that their small children run usually, in the midst of winter, up and down the streets, barefooted and bare-legged; with no other apparel, many times, save only a mantle to cover their nakedness.

The chief officer of their town, they call their "Sovereign"; who hath the same office and authority among them, that our Mayors have with us in England: and hath his Sergeants to attend upon him and bear the mace before him, as our Mayors.

We were first entertained at the "Sovereign's" house; which was one of the four that withstood the Earl of DESMOND, in his rebellion.

They have the same form of *Common Prayer*, word for word in Latin, as we have here in England. Upon the Sunday, the "Sovereign" cometh into the Church, with his Sergeant

before him; and the Sheriffs and others of the town accompany him: and there, they kneel down, every man by himself, privately to make his own prayers. After this, they rise and go out of the Church again to drink: which being done, they returned again into the Church; and then the Minister beginneth Prayers.

Their manner of baptizing differeth something from ours. Part of the service belonging thereto, is repeated in Latin; and part in Irish [*Erse*]. The Minister taketh the child in his hands; and first dippeth it backwards, and then forwards, over head and ears into the cold water, in the midst of winter: whereby also may appear their natural hardness, as before was specified.

They had neither bell, drum, nor trumpet, to call the parishioners together: but they expect [*wait*] till their "Sovereign" comes; and then, they that have any devotion, follow him.

They make their bread all in cakes; and, for the tenth part, the bakers bake for all the town.

We had of them some ten or eleven tuns of beer, for the *Victory*; but it proved like a present [*instant*] purgation to them that took it; so that we chose rather to drink water than it.

The 20th of December, we loosed from hence, having provided ourselves with fresh water, and other necessary things; being accompanied by Sir EDWARD DENNY, his lady, and two young sons.

This day, in the morning, my Lord going ashore, to despatch away speedily some fresh water that remained for the *Victory*, the wind being very fair for us; brought us news that there were Sixty Spanish prizes taken, and brought to England.

For two or three days, we had a fair wind; but, after, it scanted so, that, as I said before, we were fain to keep a cold Christmas, with the "Bishop and his Clerks."

After this, we met with an English ship that brought us the joyful news of Ninety-one Spanish prizes that were come to England: and also sorrowful news withal, that the last and best prize we took [*that came from the West Indies, see p.* 186], had suffered shipwreck at a place upon the coast of

Cornwall, which the Cornish men call Als Efferne, that is, "Hell Gate;" and that Captain LISTER and all the men in the ship were drowned, save five or six (the one half English; the other, Spanish) that saved themselves with swimming. Notwithstanding, much of the goods were saved and reserved for us, by Sir FRANCIS GODOLPHIN and the worshipful gentlemen of the country there.

My Lord was very sorry for Captain LISTER's death; wishing that he had "lost" his voyage [*i.e., come home empty handed*] to have saved his life.

The 29th of December, we met with another ship that told us the same news; and that Sir MARTIN FROBISHER, and Captain REYMOND had taken the admiral and vice-admiral of the fleet that we espied going into Terceira haven. But the admiral was sunk, with much leaking, near the Iddy Stone [*Eddystone*], a rock that lieth over against Plymouth Sound; but the men were saved. This ship also certified us, that Captain [afterward Sir AMIAS] PRESTON's ship had taken a prize ladened with silver.

My Lord entered presently into this ship, and went to Falmouth; and we held on our course for Plymouth.

At night, we came near the Ram Head, the next Cape westward from Plymouth Sound; but we were afraid to double it in the night: misdoubting the scantness of the wind. So we stood off to sea, half the night; and towards morning, had the wind more large, and made too little spare thereof; that partly for this cause, and partly through mistaking the land, we were driven so much to leeward that we could not double that Cape.

Therefore we returned back again, and came into Falmouth haven; where we struck on ground, in seventeen feet of water: but it was a low ebb, and ready again to flow, and the ground soft; so that no hurt was done.

Here, with gladness, we set foot again upon the long desired English ground; and refreshed ourselves, with keeping part of Christmas upon our native soil.

A Fight at Sea,

Famously fought by the *Dolphin* of London against Five of the Turks' Men of War and a Sattee, the 12 of January last 1616[-17]; being all vessels of great burden, and strongly manned.

Wherein is showed the noble worth and brave resolution of our English Nation.

Written and set forth by one of the same Voyage that was then present, and an Eye Witness to all the proceedings.

Printed at London for *Henry Gosson*, dwelling upon London Bridge. 1617.

A FIGHT AT SEA, famously fought by the *Dolphin* of London, against Five of the Turks' Men of War

THE MAGNANIMITY and worthy resolution of this our English Nation, from time to time, endureth the true touch and trials of the sea, in deep extremity; whereby other countries not only admire thereat, but tie to the same a deserved commendation. Amongst many other such like adventures, I am emboldened to commit to your censure the accidents of this our late voyage and return from *Z*ante into England: which happened as here followeth.

Having at *Z*ante, at the end of this last year, finished our business, and ladened our ship for England, being named the *Dolphin* of London, of the burden of 280 tons or thereabouts; having in the same, some nineteen pieces of ordnance and nine murderers [*carronades firing bullets or murdering-shot, to sweep the decks when men enter*]; manned with thirty-six men and two boys; the Master thereof, one Master NICHOLS, a man of much skill and proved experience: who, making for England; we came from *Z*ante the 1st of January, 1617, the wind being north and by east.

When with a prosperous gale, by the 8th day we had sight of the island of Sardinia; the wind being then come westerly. The 9th, in the morning, we stood in for Callery [?*Cagliari*]: and at noon, the wind being southerly, we came close by the Towers; where, some two leagues off, we made the fight.

Which day, at night, the wind growing calm, we sailed towards the Cape. The 10th day, we had a very little wind or none at all, till it was two o'clock in the afternoon; which drave us some three leagues eastward from Cape Pola [? *Pula*].

Where we espied a fleet of ships upon the main of Sardinia, near unto a road called Callery, belonging to the King of Spain; being the 12th of January [1617]. On which day, in the morning's watch, we had sight of a sail making from the shore towards us; which drave into our minds some doubt and fear: and coming near unto us, we espied it to be a Sattee, which is a ship much like unto an Argosy, of a very great burden and bigness.

Which perceiving, we imagined some more ships not to be far off. Whereupon our Master sent one of our company up into the maintop: where he discovered five sail of ships, one after another, coming up before the wind, being then at west-south-west. Who, in a prospect glass [*telescope*], perceived them to be the Turks' Men of War. The first of them booming [*in full sail*] by himself before the wind; with his flag in the maintop, and all his sails gallantly spread abroad. After him, came the Admiral and Vice-Admiral; and after them, two more, the Rear-Admiral and his fellow. Being five in number, all well prepared for any desperate assault.

Whereupon, we immediately made ready our ordnance and small shot [*musketry*]; and with no little resolution prepared ourselves to withstand them. Which being done, we went to prayer; and so to dinner: where our Master gave us such noble encouragement, that our hearts ever thirsted to prove the success.

And being in readiness for the fight, our Master went upon the poop, and waved his sword three times; shaking it with such dauntless courage, as if he had already won the victory. This being done, we seconded him with like forwardness. Whereupon he caused his trumpets to sound; which gave us more encouragement than before.

Being within shot of them, our Master commanded his Gunner to make his level and to shoot: which he did, but missed them all. At which, the foremost of them bore up apace, for he had the wind of us; and returned as good as we sent. So betwixt us, for a great time, was a most fierce encounter; and having the advantage of us by reason of the wind, about eleven or twelve o'clock they laid us aboard with one of their ships, which was of 300 tons or thereabouts. She had in her thirty-five pieces of ordnance, and about 250 men: the Captain whereof was one WALSINGHAM, who seemed, by his name, to be an Englishman; and was Admiral of the fleet, for so it signified by the flag in his maintop.

Having, as I said, boarded our ship, he entered on the larboard quarter: where his men, some with sabels, which we call falchions, some with hatchets, and some with half-pikes, stayed some half hour or thereabouts, tearing up our nail boards [*deck planks*] upon the poop, and the trap hatch: but we having a murtherer in the round house [*Captain's cabin*] kept the larboard side clear: whilst our other men with the ordnance and muskets played upon their ships. Yet for all this, they paid our gallery with small shot, in such sort that we stood in danger to yield.

But, at last, we shot them quite through and through, and they us likewise: but they being afraid they should have been sunk by us, bore ahead of our ship; and as he passed along we gave them a broadside, that they were forced to lay by the lee, and to mend their leaks.

This fight continued two hours by our [hour] glass, and better; and so near the shore, that the dwellers thereupon saw all the beginning and ending, and what danger we stood in. For upon the shore, stood a little house, wherein was likewise turned a glass all the time during the fight; which measured the hours as they passed.

And this was WALSINGHAM's part.

Now for Captain KELLEY's ship, which came likewise up with his flag in the maintop, and another ship with his flag in the foretop: which ships were at least 300 tons a piece; and had in each of them twenty-five pieces of ordnance, and about 250 men.

So they laid us aboard, one on the starboard quarter, and the other on the larboard: where entering our ship thick

and threefold, with their scimitars, hatchets, half-pikes, and other weapons, put us in great danger both of the loss of our ship and our lives: for they performed much manhood, and many dangerous hazards.

Amongst which, there was one of their company that desperately went up into our maintop to fetch down our flag; which being spied by the Steward of our ship, he presently shot him with his musket that he fell headlong into the sea, leaving the flag behind him.

So these two ships fought us with great resolution, playing upon us with their ordnance and small shot for the space of an hour and a half; of whom we received some hurt, and likewise they of us. But when they saw they could not prevail, nor any way make us to yield; they bore up and passed from us, to lay their ships by the lee to stop their leaks: for we had grievously torn and battered them with our great ordnance.

This was the second attempt they made upon us. Now for the third.

There came two more of Captain KELLEY's ships, of 250 tons a piece, that in each of them had twenty-two pieces of ordnance; and at the least 200 men, as well provided as might be. Which was, as we thought, too great a number for us, being so few in our ship; but GOD, that was our friend, gave us such strength and success that they little prevailed against us.

For at their first coming up, notwithstanding all their multitude of men, we shot one of them quite through and through; and laid him likewise by the lee, as we had done the others before. But the other ship remaining, laid us aboard on the starboard side, and in that quarter they entered our ship with scimitars, falchions, half-pikes, and other weapons, running to and fro upon the deck, crying still, in the Turkish tongue, "Yield yourselves!" "Yield yourselves!" promising that we should be well used, and have part of our goods delivered back; with such like fair promises.

But we, giving no ear unto them, stood stiffly in our defence, choosing rather to die than to yield, as it is still the nature and condition of all Englishmen; and being thus resolved, some of our men plied our ordnance against them,

some played with the small shot, some with other weapons, as swords and half pikes and the like. In the midst of which skirmish, it so happened, by ill chance, that our ship was fired, and in great danger to be lost and cast away: had not the LORD, in His mercy, preserved us; and sent us means happily to quench it.

But now mark the accident! The fire being perceived by our enemies to burn outrageously, and thinking that our ship would have therewith been suddenly burned to the water: they left us to our fortunes, falling astern from us.

So we put to the shore under the little house, for some succour; where we let an anchor fall, thinking to ride there all night: but we saw another ship bear upon us; whereupon we were sore frighted, and so forced to let our anchor slip, and so set sail to get better succour, putting into the road between the two little houses; where we lay five days, mending the bruises and leaks of our ship.

The losses we received in the aforesaid fight were six men and one boy; and there were hurt eight men and one boy more: but the LORD doth know what damage we put them to; and what number we slew in their ships.

The Master of our ship being at the helm was shot twice betwixt the legs. The Surgeon dressing the wounds of one of our men, a ball of wild-fire fell into his basin; which he suddenly cast into the sea, otherwise it had greatly endangered us.

The Turks were aboard, and sound their trumpets; yet, notwithstanding, our men assaulted them so fiercely that they forced them off: and the Boatswain, seeing them fly, most undauntedly with a whistle blowed them to the skirmish, if so they durst.

The Captains of three of their ships were Englishmen; who took part with the Turks thus to rob and spoil upon the ocean. Their names were WALSINGHAM, KELLEY, and SAMPSON.

Upon the 13th of January, there came aboard certain Spaniards, in the morning betimes; who, seeing our dead men, went ashore with us, and showed us where we might bury them. But as we were busy in making their graves, and covering the bodies with earth; there came sailing by a Flemish ship of 240 tons, which had in it some £5,000 or

£6,000 [=£25,000 *in present value*], which had been chased by those Men of War that had fought with us before. All which money they brought in a long boat to the shore, and left in the ship only the men, which were sixteen sailors and two boys; that afterwards, within two days, brought the said ship into the road, not anything at all endangered, GOD be praised!

Upon the 15th of the same month, when we came from the burying of our men, and had rested ourselves in our ship some two or three hours; as GOD would have it, the wind began to blow a strong gale, and by little and little grew to a terrible tempest: through which, from Sunday night [? 19th] till Friday [? 24th] in the evening, we lay in such extremity of weather, as rain, wind, lightning and thunder, as we thought we should never have got clear from the road where we lay. During which storm, there died one of our men that had been hurt in the fight: whose body we cast overboard into the sea, without any other burial.

So when the wind and sea a little calmed, we set up sail and came forward: but with three days, after we buried three men more in the sea.

And the same afternoon [? 27th] we arrived in the road of Callery [*Cagliari*], and lay at anchor: where again searching our ship, we found it rent and torn in four several places; one in the gun room, another between the decks, the third in the skereridge [? *steerage*], and the fourth in the Master's roundhouse.

So in Callery, we mended our ship; and hired certain men there to help us to stop her leaks: and having all things most fitting for our voyage homewards; upon the 30th of January, we committed our fortunes again unto the sea. And so leaving Callery, we came forward, with a Frenchman who was bound to a place called Oristano, some thirty leagues from Callery; where, after two days, we left his company; being the 1st of February.

And after that, putting forward still towards England, we are now, by the will of GOD, most safely arrived; and our ship, after so many overpassed dangers, received into the Thames, near London: to the great joy and comfort of the owners thereof.

GOD be praised!

Sir FRANCIS DRAKE *revived;*

Calling upon this dull or effeminate Age, to follow his noble steps for gold and silver:

By this memorable Relation of the rare occurrences (never yet declared to the world) in a Third Voyage made by him into the West Indies, in the years [15]72 and [15]73; when Nombre de Dios was by him, and fifty-two others only in his company, surprised.

Faithfully taken out of the report of Master CHRISTOPHER CEELY, ELLIS HIXOM, and others, who were in the same Voyage with him;

By PHILIP NICHOLS, Preacher.

Reviewed also by Sir FRANCIS DRAKE himself, before his death; and much holpen and enlarged by divers notes, with his own hand, here and there inserted.

Set forth by Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, Baronet, (his nephew) now living.

LONDON:

Printed by E. A. for NICHOLAS BOURNE, dwelling at the South Entrance of the Royal Exchange. 1626.

To the high and mighty CHARLES the FIRST, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, all the blessings of this, and a better life.

Most gracious Sovereign,

THAT this brief Treatise is yours, both by right and by succession, will appear by the Author's and Actor's ensuing *Dedication*. To praise either the Mistress or the Servant, might justly incur the censure of *Quis eos unquam sanus vituperavit*; either's worth having sufficiently blazed their fame.

This Present loseth nothing, by glancing on former actions; and the observation of passed adventures may probably advantage future employments. CÆSAR wrote his own *Commentaries*; and this Doer was partly the Inditor. Neither is there wanting living testimony to confirm its truth.

For his sake, then, cherish what is good! and I shall willingly entertain check for what is amiss. Your favourable acceptance may encourage my collecting of more neglected notes! However, though Virtue, as Lands, be not inheritable; yet hath he left of his Name, one that resolves, and therein joys to approve himself

Your most humble and loyal subject,

FRANCIS DRAKE [Bart.].

The Dedicatory Epistle, intended to Queen ELIZABETH, *Written by Sir* FRANCIS DRAKE, *deceased.*

To the Queen's most excellent Majesty, my most dread Sovereign.

MADAM,

SEEING divers have diversely reported and written of these Voyages and Actions which I have attempted and made, every one endeavouring to bring to light whatsoever inklings or conjectures they have had; whereby many untruths have been published, and the certain truth concealed: as [so] *I have thought it necessary myself, as in a Card* [chart] *to prick the principal points of the counsels taken, attempts made, and success had, during the whole course of my employment in these services against the Spaniard. Not as setting sail for maintaining my reputation in men's judgement, but only as sitting at helm, if occasion shall be, for conducting the like actions hereafter. So I have accounted it my duty, to present this Discourse to Your Majesty, as of right; either for itself being the firstfruits of your Servant's pen, or for the matter, being service done to Your Majesty by your poor vassal, against*

your great Enemy: at times, in such places, and after such sort as may seem strange to those that are not acquainted with the whole carriage thereof; but will be a pleasing remembrance to Your Highness, who take the apparent height of the Almighty's favour towards you, by these events, as truest instruments.

Humbly submitting myself to Your gracious censure, both in writing and presenting; that Posterity be not deprived of such help as many happily be gained hereby, and our present Age, at least, may be satisfied, in the rightfulness of these actions, which hitherto have been silenced: and Your Servant's labour not seem altogether lost, not only in travels by sea and land, but also in writing the Report thereof (a work to him no less troublesome) yet made pleasant and sweet, in that it hath been, is, and shall be for Your Majesty's content; to whom I have devoted myself [*and*] *live or die.*

FRANCIS DRAKE [*Knight*].

January 1, 1592 [*i.e.*, 1593].

TO THE COURTEOUS READER.

HONEST READER,

WITHOUT apology, I desire thee, in this ensuing Discourse, to observe, with me, the power and justice of the LORD of Hosts, Who could enable so mean a person to right himself upon so mighty a Prince; together with the goodness and providence of GOD very observable in that it pleased Him to raise this man, not only from a low condition, but even from the state of persecution. His father suffered in it, being forced to fly from his house, near South Tavistock in Devon, into Kent: and there to inhabit in the hull of a ship, wherein many of his younger sons were born. He had twelve in all: and as it pleased GOD to give most of them a being upon the water, so the greatest part of them died at sea. The youngest, who though he was [went] *as far as any, yet died at home; whose posterity inherits that, which by himself and this noble Gentleman the eldest brother, was hardly, yet worthily gotten.*

I could more largely acquaint thee, that this Voyage was his Third he made into the West Indies; after that [*of*] *his excellent service, both by sea and land, in Ireland, under WALTER, Earl of ESSEX; his next, about the World; another, wherein he took St. Jago, Cartagena, St. Domingo, St. Augustino; his doings at Cadiz; besides the first Carrack taught by him to sail into England; his stirrings in Eighty-seven; his remarkable actions in Eighty-eight; his endeavours in the Portugal employment; his last enterprise, determined by death; and his filling Plymouth with a plentiful stream of fresh water: but I pass by all these. I had rather thou shouldest inquire of others! then to seem myself a vainglorious man.*

I intend not his praise! I strive only to set out the praise of his and our good GOD! that guided him in his truth! and protected him in his courses! My ends are to stir thee up to the worship of GOD, and service of our King and Country, by his example! If anything be worth thy consideration; conclude with me, that the LORD only, can do great things!

FRANCIS DRAKE [*Bart.*]

Sir FRANCIS DRAKE *revived;*

Calling upon this dull or effeminate Age, to follow his noble steps for gold and silver.

AS THERE is a general Vengeance which secretly pursueth the doers of wrong, and suffereth them not to prosper, albeit no man of purpose empeach them: so is there a particular Indignation, engraffed in the bosom of all that are wronged, which ceaseth not seeking, by all means possible, to redress or remedy the wrong received. Insomuch as those great and mighty men, in whom their prosperous estate hath bred such an overweening of themselves, that they do not only wrong their inferiors, but despise them being injured, seem to take a very unfit course for their own safety, and far unfitter for their rest. For as ESOP teacheth, even the fly hath her spleen, and the emmet [*ant*] is not without her choler; and both together many times find means whereby, though the eagle lays her eggs in JUPITER's lap, yet by one way or other, she escapeth not requital of her wrong done [to] the emmet.

Among the manifold examples hereof, which former Ages have committed to memory, or our Time yielded to sight: I suppose, there hath not been any more notable then this in hand; either in respect of the greatness of the person by whom the first injury was offered, or the meanness of him who righted himself. The one being, in his own conceit, the mightiest Monarch of all the world! The other, an English Captain, a mean subject of her Majesty's! Who (beside the wrongs received at Rio de [la] Hacha with Captain

JOHN LOVELL in the years [15]65 and [15]66) having been grievously endamaged at San Juan de Ulua in the Bay of Mexico, with Captain JOHN HAWKINS, in the years [15]67 and [15]68, not only in the loss of his goods of some value, but also of his kinsmen and friends, and that by the falsehood of DON MARTIN HENRIQUEZ then the Viceroy of Mexico; and finding that no recompense could be recovered out of Spain, by any of his own means, or by Her Majesty's letters; he used such helps as he might, by two several voyages into the West Indies (the first with two ships, the one called the *Dragon*, the other the *Swan*, in the year [15]70: the other in the *Swan* alone in the year [15]71), to gain such intelligences as might further him, to get some amends for his loss.

And having, in those two Voyages, gotten such certain notice of the persons and places aimed at, as he thought requisite, and thereupon with good deliberation resolved on a Third Voyage (the description whereof we have now in hand); he accordingly prepared his ships and company, and then taking the first opportunity of a good wind, had such success in his proceedings, as now follows further to be declared.

On Whitsunday Eve, being the 24th of May, in the year 1572, Captain DRAKE in the *Pascha* of Plymouth of 70 tons, his admiral [*flag-ship*]; with the *Swan* of the same port, of 25 tons, his vice-admiral, in which his brother JOHN DRAKE was Captain (having in both of them, of men and boys seventy-three, all voluntarily assembled; of which the eldest was fifty, all the rest under thirty: so divided that there were forty-seven in the one ship, and twenty-six in the other. Both richly furnished with victuals and apparel for a whole year; and no less heedfully provided of all manner of munition, artillery, artificers, stuff and tools, that were requisite for such a Man-of-war in such an attempt: but especially having three dainty pinnaces made in Plymouth, taken asunder all in pieces, and stowed aboard, to be set up as occasion served), set sail, from out of the Sound of Plymouth, with intent to land at Nombre de Dios.

The wind continued prosperous and favourable at north-east, and gave us a very good passage, without any alteration

or change: so that albeit we had sight (3rd June) of Porto Santo, one of the Madeiras, and of the Canaries also within twelve days of our setting forth: yet we never struck sail, nor came to anchor, nor made any stay for any cause, neither there nor elsewhere, until twenty-five days after; when (28th June) we had sight of the island of Guadaloupe, one of the islands of the West Indies, goodly high land.

The next morning (29th June), we entered between Dominica and Guadaloupe, where we descried two canoes coming from a rocky island, three leagues off Dominica; which usually repair thither to fish, by reason of the great plenty thereof, which is there continually to be found.

We landed on the south side of it, remaining there three days to refresh our men; and to water our ships out of one of those goodly rivers, which fall down off the mountain. There we saw certain poor cottages; built with Palmito boughs and branches; but no inhabitants, at that time, civil or savage: the cottages it may be (for we could know no certain cause of the solitariness we found there) serving, not for continual inhabitation, but only for their uses, that came to that place at certain seasons to fish.

The third day after (1st July), about three in the afternoon, we set sail from thence, toward the continent of *Terra firma*.

And the fifth day after (6th July), we had sight of the high land of Santa Marta; but came not near the shore by ten leagues.

But thence directed our course, for a place called by us, Port Pheasant; for that our Captain had so named it in his former voyage, by reason of the great store of those goodly fowls, which he and his company did then daily kill and feed on, in that place. In this course notwithstanding we had two days calm, yet within six days after we arrived (12th July) at Port Pheasant, which is a fine round bay, of very safe harbour for all winds, lying between two high points, not past half a cable's length over at the mouth, but within, eight or ten cables' length every way, having ten or twelve fathoms of water more or less, full of good fish; the soil also very fruitful, which may appear by this, that our Captain having been in this place, within a year and few days before [*i.e.*, *in July*, 1571] and having rid the place with many alleys and paths made; yet now all was so overgrown again, as that

we doubted, at first, whether this was the same place or not.

At our entrance into this bay, our Captain having given order to his brother what to do, if any occasion should happen in his absence, was on his way, with intent to have gone aland with some few only in his company, because he knew there dwelt no Spaniards within thirty-five leagues of that place. [Santiago de] Tolou being the nearest to the eastwards, and Nombre de Dios to the westwards, where any of that nation dwelt.

But as we were rowing ashore, we saw a smoke in the woods, even near the place which our Captain had aforetime frequented; therefore thinking it fit to take more strength with us, he caused his other boat also to be manned, with certain muskets and other weapons, suspecting some enemy had been ashore.

When we landed, we found by evident marks, that there had been lately there, a certain Englishman of Plymouth, called JOHN GARRET, who had been conducted thither by certain English mariners which had been there with our Captain, in some of his former voyages. He had now left a plate of lead, nailed fast to a mighty great tree (greater than any four men joining hands could fathom about) on which were engraven these words, directed to our Captain.

CAPTAIN DRAKE!

IF YOU fortune to come to this Port, make haste away! For the Spaniards which you had with you here, the last year, have bewrayed this place, and taken away all that you left here.

I depart from hence, this present 7th of July, 1572.

Your very loving friend,

JOHN GARRET.

The smoke which we saw, was occasioned by a fire, which the said GARRET and his company had made, before their departure, in a very great tree, not far from this which had the lead nailed on it; which had continued burning at least five days before our arrival.

This advertisement notwithstanding, our Captain meant

not to depart before he had built his pinnaces; which were yet aboard in pieces: for which purpose he knew this port to be a most convenient place.

And therefore as soon as we had moored our ships, our Captain commanded his pinnaces to be brought ashore for the carpenters to set up; himself employing all his other company in fortifying a place (which he had chosen out, as a most fit plot) of three-quarters of an acre of ground, to make some strength or safety for the present, as sufficiently as the means he had would afford. Which was performed by felling of great trees; bowsing and hauling them together, with great pulleys and hawsers, until they were enclosed to the water; and then letting others fall upon them, until they had raised with trees and boughs thirty feet in height round about, leaving only one gate to issue at, near the water side; which every night, that we might sleep in more safety and security, was shut up, with a great tree drawn athwart it.

The whole plot was built in pentagonal form, to wit, of five equal sides and angles, of which angles two were toward the sea, and that side between them was left open, for the easy launching of our pinnaces: the other four equal sides were wholly, excepting the gate before mentioned, firmly closed up.

Without, instead of a trench, the ground was rid [*laid bare*] for fifty feet space, round about. The rest was very thick with trees, of which many were of those kinds which are never without green leaves, till they are dead at the root: excepting only one kind of tree amongst them, much like to our Ash, which when the sun cometh right over them, causing great rains, suddenly casteth all its leaves, viz., within three days, and yet within six days after becomes all green again. The leaves of the other trees do also in part fall away, but so as the trees continue still green notwithstanding: being of a marvellous height, and supported as it were with five or six natural buttresses growing out of their bodies so far, that three men may so be hidden in each of them, that they which shall stand in the very next buttress shall not be able to see them. One of them specially was marked to have had seven of those stays or buttresses, for the supporting of his greatness and height, which being measured with a line close by the bark and near to the ground, as it was indented or extant, was found to be above thirty-nine yards about. The wood of

those trees is as heavy or heavier than Brazil or *Lignum vitæ*; and is in colour white.

The next day after we had arrived (13th July), there came also into that bay, an English bark of the Isle of Wight, of Sir EDWARD HORSEY's; wherein JAMES RANSE was Captain and JOHN OVERY, Master, with thirty men: of which, some had been with our Captain in the same place, the year before. They brought in with them a Spanish caravel of Seville, which he had taken the day before, athwart of that place; being a Caravel of *Adviso* [*Despatch boat*] bound for Nombre de Dios; and also one shallop with oars, which he had taken at Cape Blanc. This Captain RANSE understanding our Captain's purpose, was desirous to join in consort with him; and was received upon conditions agreed on between them.

Within seven days after his coming, having set up our pinnaces, and despatched all our business, in providing all things necessary, out of our ships into our pinnaces: we departed (20th July) from that harbour, setting sail in the morning towards Nombre de Dios, continuing our course till we came to the Isles of Pinos: where, being within three days arrived, we found (22nd July) two frigates of Nombre de Dios lading plank and timber from thence.

The Negroes which were in those frigates, gave us some particular understanding of the present state of the town; and besides, told us that they had heard a report, that certain soldiers should come thither shortly, and were daily looked for, from the Governor of Panama, and the country thereabout, to defend the town against the Cimaroons (a black people, which about eighty years past [*i.e.*, 1512] fled from the Spaniards their masters, by reason of their cruelty, and are since grown to a Nation, under two Kings of their own: the one inhabiteth to the West, and the other to the East of the Way from Nombre de Dios to Panama) which had nearly surprised it [*i.e.*, *Nombre de Dios*], about six weeks before [*i.e.*, *about* 10*th June*, 1572].

Our Captain willing to use those Negroes well (not hurting himself) set them ashore upon the Main, that they might perhaps join themselves to their countrymen the Cimaroons, and gain their liberty if they would; or if they would not, yet by reason of the length and troublesomeness of the way by land to Nombre de Dios, he might prevent any notice of

his coming, which they should be able to give. For he was loath to put the town to too much charge (which he knew they would willingly bestow) in providing beforehand for his entertainment; and therefore he hastened his going thither, with as much speed and secrecy as possibly he could.

To this end, disposing of all his companies, according as they inclined most; he left the three ships and the caravel with Captain RANSE; and chose into his four pinnaces (Captain RANSE's shallop made the fourth) beside fifty-three of our men, twenty more of Captain RANSE's company; with which he seemed competently furnished, to achieve what he intended; especially having proportioned, according to his own purpose, and our men's disposition, their several arms, viz., six targets, six firepikes, twelve pikes, twenty-four muskets and calivers, sixteen bows, and six partisans, two drums, and two trumpets.

Thus having parted (23rd July) from our company: we arrived at the island of Cativaas, being twenty-five leagues distant, about five days afterward (28th July). There we landed all in the morning betimes: and our Captain trained his men, delivering them their several weapons and arms which hitherto he had kept very fair and safe in good caske [*casks*]: and exhorting them after his manner, he declared "the greatness of the hope of good things that was there! the weakness of the town, being unwalled! and the hope he had of prevailing to recompense his wrongs! especially now that he should come with such a crew, who were like-minded with himself; and at such a time, as he should be utterly undiscovered."

Therefore, even that afternoon, he causeth us to set sail for Nombre de Dios, so that before sunset we were as far as Rio Francisco. Thence, he led us hard aboard the shore, that we might not be descried of the Watch House, until that being come within two leagues of the point of the bay, he caused us to strike a hull, and cast our grappers [*grappling irons*], riding so until it was dark night.

Then we weighed again, and set sail, rowing hard aboard the shore, with as much silence as we could, till we recovered the point of the harbour under the high land. There, we stayed, all silent; purposing to attempt the town in the dawning of the day: after that we had reposed ourselves, for a while.

But our Captain with some other of his best men, finding that our people were talking of the greatness of the town, and what their strength might be; especially by the report of the Negroes that we took at the Isle of Pinos: thought it best to put these conceits out of their heads, and therefore to take the opportunity of the rising of the moon that night, persuading them that "it was the day dawning." By this occasion we were at the town a large hour sooner then first was purposed. For we arrived there by three of the clock after midnight. At what time it fortuned that a ship of Spain, of 60 tons, laden with Canary wines and other commodities, which had but lately come into the bay; and had not yet furled her sprit-sail (espying our four pinnaces, being an extraordinary number, and those rowing with many oars) sent away her gundeloe [? *gondola*] towards the town, to give warning. But our Captain perceiving it, cut betwixt her and the town, forcing her to go to the other side of the bay: whereby we landed without impeachment, although we found one gunner upon the Platform [*battery*] in the very place where we landed; being a sandy place and no key [*quay*] at all, not past twenty yards from the houses.

There we found six great pieces of brass ordnance, mounted upon their carriages, some Demy, some Whole-Culvering.

We presently dismounted them. The gunner fled. The town took alarm (being very ready thereto, by reason of their often disquieting by their near neighbours the Cimaroons); as we perceived, not only by the noise and cries of the people, but by the bell ringing out, and drums running up and down the town.

Our Captain, according to the directions which he had given over night, to such as he had made choice of for the purpose, left twelve to keep the pinnaces; that we might be sure of a safe retreat, if the worst befell. And having made sure work of the Platform before he would enter the town, he thought best, first to view the Mount on the east side of the town: where he was informed, by sundry intelligences the year before, they had an intent to plant ordnance, which might scour round about the town.

Therefore, leaving one half of his company to make a stand at the foot of the Mount, he marched up presently unto the top of it, with all speed to try the truth of the report, for the more

safety. There we found no piece of ordnance, but only a very fit place prepared for such use, and therefore we left it without any of our men, and with all celerity returned now down the Mount.

Then our Captain appointed his brother, with JOHN OXNAM [*or OXENHAM*] and sixteen other of his men, to go about, behind the King's Treasure House, and enter near the easter[n] end of the Market Place: himself with the rest, would pass up the broad street into the Market Place, with sound of drum and trumpet. The Firepikes, divided half to the one, and half to the other company, served no less for fright to the enemy than light of our men, who by his means might discern every place very well, as if it were near day: whereas the inhabitants stood amazed at so strange a sight, marvelling what the matter might be, and imagining, by reason of our drums and trumpets sounding in so sundry places, that we had been a far greater number then we were.

Yet, by means of the soldiers of which were in the town, and by reason of the time which we spent in marching up and down the Mount, the soldiers and inhabitants had put themselves in arms, and brought their companies in some order, at the south-east end of the Market Place, near the Governor's House, and not far from the gate of the town, which is the only one, leading towards Panama: having (as it seems) gathered themselves thither, either that in the Governor's sight they might shew their valour, if it might prevail; or else, that by the gate, they might best take their *Vale*, and escape readiest.

And to make a shew of far greater numbers of shot, or else of a custom they had, by the like device to terrify the Cimaroons; they had hung lines with matches lighted, overthwart the wester[n] end of the Market Place, between the Church and the Cross; as though there had been in a readiness some company of shot, whereas indeed there were not past two or three that taught these lines to dance, till they themselves ran away, as soon as they perceived they were discovered.

But the soldiers and such as were joined with them, presented us with a jolly hot volley of shot, beating full upon the full egress of that street, in which we marched; and levelling very low, so as their bullets ofttimes grazed on the sand.

We stood not to answer them in like terms: but having discharged our first volley of shot, and feathered them with our arrows (which our Captain had caused to be made of purpose in England; not great sheaf arrows, but fine roving shafts, very carefully reserved for the service) we came to the push of pike, so that our firepikes being well armed and made of purpose, did us very great service.

For our men with their pikes and short weapons, in short time took such order among these gallants (some using the butt-end of their pieces instead of other weapons), that partly by reason of our arrows which did us there notable service, partly by occasion of this strange and sudden closing with them in this manner unlooked for, and the rather for that at the very instant, our Captain's brother, with the other company, with their firepikes, entered the Market Place by the easter[n] street: they casting down their weapons, fled all out of the town by the gate aforesaid, which had been built for a bar to keep out of the town the Cimaroons, who had often assailed it; but now served for a gap for the Spaniards to fly at.

In following, and returning; divers of our men were hurt with the weapons which the enemy had let fall as he fled; somewhat, for that we marched with such speed, but more for that they lay so thick and cross one on the other.

Being returned, we made our stand near the midst of the Market Place, where a tree groweth hard by the Cross; whence our Captain sent some of our men to stay the ringing of the alarm bell, which had continued all this while: but the church being very strongly built and fast shut, they could not without firing (which our Captain forbade) get into the steeple where the bell rung.

In the meantime, our Captain having taken two or three Spaniards in their flight, commanded them to shew him the Governor's House, where he understood was the ordinary place of unlading the moiles [*mules*] of all the treasure which came from Panama by the King's appointment. Although the silver only was kept there; the gold, pearl, and jewels (being there once entered by the King's officer) was carried from thence to the King's Treasure House not far off, being a house very strongly built of lime and stone, for the safe keeping thereof.

At our coming to the Governor's House, we found the great door where the mules do usually unlade, even then opened, a candle lighted upon the top of the stairs; and a fair gennet ready saddled, either for the Governor himself, or some other of his household to carry it after him. By means of this light we saw a huge heap of silver in that nether [*lower*] room; being a pile of bars of silver of, as near as we could guess, seventy feet in length, of ten feet in breath, and twelve feet in height, piled up against the wall, each bar was between thirty-five and forty pounds in weight.

At sight hereof, our Captain commanded straightly that none of us should touch a bar of silver; but stand upon our weapons, because the town was full of people, and there was in the King's Treasure House near the water side, more gold and jewels than all our four pinnaces could carry: which we would presently set some in hand to break open, notwithstanding the Spaniards report the strength of it.

We were no sooner returned to our strength, but there was a report brought by some of our men that our pinnaces were in danger to be taken; and that if we ourselves got not aboard before day, we should be oppressed with multitude both of soldiers and towns-people. This report had his ground from one DIEGO a Negro, who, in the time of the first conflict, came and called to our pinnaces, to know "whether they were Captain DRAKE's?" And upon answer received, continued entreating to be taken aboard, though he had first three or four shot made at him, until at length they fetched him; and learned by him, that, not past eight days before our arrival, the King had sent thither some 150 soldiers to guard the town against the Cimaroons, and the town at this time was full of people beside: which all the rather believed, because it agreed with the report of the Negroes, which we took before at the Isle of Pinos. And therefore our Captain sent his brother and JOHN OXNAM to understand the truth thereof.

They found our men which we left in our pinnaces much frightened, by reason that they saw great troops and companies running up and down, with matches lighted, some with other weapons, crying *Que gente? que gente?* which not having been at the first conflict, but coming from the utter ends of the town (being at least as big as Plymouth), came

many times near us; and understanding that we were English, discharged their pieces and ran away.

Presently after this, a mighty shower of rain, with a terrible storm of thunder and lightning, fell, which poured down so vehemently (as it usually doth in those countries) that before we could recover the shelter of a certain shade or pent-house at the western end of the King's Treasure House, (which seemeth to have been built there of purpose to avoid sun and rain) some of our bow-strings were wet, and some of our match and powder hurt! which while we were careful of, to refurnish and supply; divers of our men harping on the reports lately brought us, were muttering of the forces of the town, which our Captain perceiving, told them, that "He had brought them to the mouth of the Treasure of the World, if they would want it, they might henceforth blame nobody but themselves!"

And therefore as soon as the storm began to assuage of his fury (which was a long half hour) willing to give his men no longer leisure to demur of those doubts, nor yet allow the enemy farther respite to gather themselves together, he stept forward commanding his brother, with JOHN OXNAM and the company appointed them, to break the King's Treasure House: the rest to follow him to keep the strength of the Market Place, till they had despatched the business for which they came.

But as he stepped forward, his strength and sight and speech failed him, and he began to faint for want of blood, which, as then we perceived, had, in great quantity, issued upon the sand, out of a wound received in his leg in the first encounter, whereby though he felt some pain, yet (for that he perceived divers of the company, having already gotten many good things, to be very ready to take all occasions, of winding themselves out of that conceited danger) would he not have it known to any, till this his fainting, against his will, bewrayed it: the blood having first filled the very prints which our footsteps made, to the greater dismay of all our company, who thought it not credible that one man should be able to spare so much blood and live.

And therefore even they, which were willing to have adventured the most for so fair a booty, would in no case hazard their Captain's life; but (having given him somewhat

to drink wherewith he recovered himself, and having bound his scarf about his leg, for the stopping of the blood) entreated him to be content to go with them aboard, there to have his wound searched and dressed, and then to return on shore again if he thought good.

This when they could not persuade him unto (as who knew it to be utterly impossible, at least very unlikely, that ever they should, for that time, return again, to recover the state in which they now were: and was of opinion, that it were more honourable for himself, to jeopard his life for so great a benefit, than to leave off so high an enterprise unperformed), they joined altogether and with force mingled with fair entreaty, they bare him aboard his pinnace, and so abandoned a most rich spoil for the present, only to preserve their Captain's life: and being resolved of him, that while they enjoyed his presence, and had him to command them, they might recover wealth sufficient; but if once they lost him, they should hardly be able to recover home. No, not with that which they had gotten already.

Thus we embarked by break of the day (29th July), having besides our Captain, many of our men wounded, though none slain but one Trumpeter: whereupon though our surgeons were busily employed, in providing remedies and salves for their wounds: yet the main care of our Captain was respected by all the rest; so that before we departed out of the harbour for the more comfort of our company, we took the aforesaid ship of wines without great resistance.

But before we had her free of the haven, they of the town had made means to bring one of their culverins, which we had dismounted, so as they made a shot at us, but hindered us not from carrying forth the prize to the Isle of *Bastimentos*, or the Isle of Victuals: which is an island that lieth without the bay to the westward, about a league off the town, where we stayed the two next days, to cure our wounded men, and refresh ourselves, in the goodly gardens which we there found abounding with great store of all dainty roots and fruits; besides great plenty of poultry and other fowls, no less strange then delicate.

Shortly upon our first arrival in this island, the Governor and the rest of his Assistants in the town, as we afterwards understood, sent unto our Captain, a proper gentleman, of

mean stature, good complexion, and a fair spoken, a principal soldier of the late sent garrison, to view in what state we were. At his coming he protested "He came to us, of mere good will, for that we had attempted so great and incredible a matter with so few men: and that, at the first, they feared that we had been French, at whose hands they knew they should find no mercy: but after they perceived by our arrows, that we were Englishmen, their fears were the less, for that they knew, that though we took the treasure of the place, yet we would not use cruelty toward their persons. But albeit this his affection gave him cause enough, to come aboard such, whose virtue he so honoured: yet the Governor also had not only consented to his coming, but directly sent him, upon occasion that divers of the town affirmed, said he, 'that they knew our Captain, who the last two years had been often on our coast, and had always used their persons very well.' And therefore desired to know, first, Whether our Captain was the same Captain DRAKE or not? and next, Because many of their men were wounded with our arrows, whether they were poisoned or not? and how their wounds might best be cured? lastly, What victuals we wanted, or other necessaries? of which the Governor promised by him to supply and furnish us, as largely as he durst."

Our Captain, although he thought this soldier but a spy: yet used him very courteously, and answered him to his Governor's demands: that "He was the same DRAKE whom they meant! It was never his manner to poison his arrows! They might cure their wounded by ordinary surgery! As for wants, he knew the Island of *Bastimentos* had sufficient, and could furnish him if he listed! but he wanted nothing but some of that special commodity which that country yielded, to content himself and his company." And therefore he advised the Governor "to hold open his eyes! for before he departed, if GOD lent him life and leave, he meant to reap some of their harvset, which they get out of the earth, and send into Spain to trouble all the earth!"

To this answer unlooked for, this gentleman replied, "If he might, without offence, move such a question, what should then be the cause of our departing from that town at this time, where was above 360 tons of silver ready for the Fleet,

and much more gold in value, resting in iron chests in the King's Treasure House?"

But when our Captain had shewed him the true cause of his unwilling retreat aboard, he acknowledged that "we had no less reason in departing, than courage in attempting": and no doubt did easily see, that it was not for the town to seek revenge of us, by manning forth such frigates or other vessels as they had; but better to content themselves and provide for their own defence.

Thus, with great favour and courteous entertainment, besides such gifts from our Captain as most contented him, after dinner, he was in such sort dismissed, to make report of that he had seen, that he protested, "he was never so much honoured of any in his life."

After his departure, the Negro forementioned, being examined more fully, confirmed this report of the gold and the silver; with many other intelligences of importance: especially how we might have gold and silver enough, if we would, by means of the Cimaroons, whom though he had betrayed divers times (being used thereto by his Masters) so that he knew they would kill him, if they got him: yet if our Captain would undertake his protection, he durst adventure his life, because he knew our Captain's name was most precious and highly honoured by them.

This report ministered occasion to further consultation: for which, because this place seemed not the safest; as being neither the healthiest nor quietest; the next day, in the morning, we all set our course for the Isle of *Pinos* or Port Plenty, where we had left our ships, continuing all that day, and the next till towards night, before we recovered it.

We were the longer in this course, for that our Captain sent away his brother and Ellis Hixom to the westward, to search the River of Chagres, where himself had been the year before, and yet was careful to gain more notice of; it being a river which trendeth to the southward, within six leagues of Panama, where is a little town called Venta Cruz [*Venta de Cruzes*], whence all the treasure, that was usually brought thither from Panama by mules, was embarked in frigates [sailing] down that river into the North sea, and so to Nombre de Dios.

It ebbeth and floweth not far into the land, and therefore

it asketh three days' rowing with a fine pinnace to pass [up] from the mouth to Venta Cruz; but one day and a night serveth to return down the river.

At our return to our ships (1st August), in our consultation, Captain RANSE (forecasting divers doubts of our safe continuance upon that coast, being now discovered) was willing to depart; and our Captain no less willing to dismiss him: and therefore as soon as our pinnaces returned from Chagres (7th August) with such advertisement as they were sent for, about eight days before; Captain RANSE took his leave, leaving us at the isle aforesaid, where we had remained five or six days.

In which meantime, having put all things in a readiness, our Captain resolved, with his two ships and three pinnaces to go to Cartagena; whither in sailing, we spent some six days by reason of the calms which came often upon us: but all this time we attempted nothing that we might have done by the way, neither at [Santiago de] Tolou nor otherwhere, because we would not be discovered.

We came to anchor with our two ships in the evening [13th August], in seven fathom water, between the island of Charesha [*the island of Cartagena, p.* 254] and St. Barnards [*San Bernardo*].

Our Captain led the three pinnaces about the island, into the harbour of Cartagena; where at the very entry, he found a frigate at anchor, aboard which was only one old man; who being demanded, "Where the rest of his company was?" answered, "That they were gone ashore in their gundeloe [? *gondola or ship's boat*], that evening, to fight about a mistress": and voluntarily related to our Captain that, "two hours before night, there past by them a pinnace, with sail and oars, as fast as ever they could row, calling to him 'Whether there had not been any English or Frenchmen there lately?' and upon answer that, 'There had been none!' they bid them 'look to themselves!' That, within an hour that this pinnace was come to the utterside [*outside*] of Cartagena, there were many great pieces shot off, whereupon one going to top, to descry what might be the cause? espied, over the land, divers frigates and small shipping bringing themselves within the Castle."

This report our Captain credited, the rather for that himself had heard the report of the ordnance at sea; and

perceived sufficiently, that he was now descried. Notwithstanding in farther examination of this old mariner, having understood, that there was, within the next point, a great ship of Seville, which had here discharged her loading, and rid now with her yards across, being bound the next morning for Santo Domingo: our Captain took this old man into his pinnace to verify that which he had informed, and rowed towards this ship, which as we came near it, hailed us, asking, "Whence our shallops were?"

We answered, "From Nombre de Dios!"

Straightway they railed! and reviled! We gave no heed to their words, but every pinnace, according to our Captain's order, one on the starboard bow, the other on the starboard quarter, and the Captain in the midship on the larboard side, forthwith boarded her; though we had some difficulty to enter by reason of her height, being of 240 tons. But as soon as we entered upon the decks, we threw down the grates and spardecks, to prevent the Spaniards from annoying us with their close fights: who then perceiving that we were possessed of their ship, stowed themselves all in hold with their weapons, except two or three yonkers, which were found afore the beetes: when having light out of our pinnaces, we found no danger of the enemy remaining, we cut their cables at halse, and with our three pinnaces, towed her without the island into the sound right afore the town, without [*beyond the*] danger of their great shot.

Meanwhile, the town having intelligence hereof, or by their watch, took the alarm, rang out their bells, shot off about thirty pieces of great ordnance, put all their men in a readiness, horse and foot, came down to the very point of the wood, and discharged their calivers, to impeach us if they might, in going forth.

The next morning (14th August) our ships took two frigates, in which there were two, who called themselves King's *Scrivanos*, the one of Cartagena, the other of Veragua, with seven mariners and two Negroes: who had been at Nombre de Dios and were now bound for Cartagena with double [? duplicate] letters of advice, to certify them that Captain DRAKE had been at Nombre de Dios, had taken it; and had it not been that he was hurt with some blessed shot, by all likelihood he had sacked it. He was yet still upon the coast; they should therefore carefully prepare for him!

After that our Captain had brought all his fleet together, at the *Scrivanos*' entreaties, he was content to do them all favour, in setting them and all their companies on shore; and so bare thence with the islands of St. Bernards, about three leagues of the town: where we found great store of fish for our refreshing.

Here, our Captain considering that he was now discovered upon the chieftest places of all the coast, and yet not meaning to leave it till he had found the Cimaroons, and "made" his voyage, as he had conceived; which would require some length of time, and sure manning of his pinnaces: he determined with himself, to burn one of the ships, and make the other a Storehouse; that his pinnaces (which could not otherwise) might be thoroughly manned, and so he might be able to abide any time.

But knowing the affection of his company, how loath they were to leave either of their ships, being both so good sailers and so well furnished; he purposed in himself by some policy, to make them most willing to effect that he intended. And therefore sent for one THOMAS MOONE, who was Carpenter in the *Swan*, and taking him into his cabin, chargeth him to conceal for a time, a piece of service, which he must in any case consent to do aboard his own ship: that was, in the middle of the second watch, to go down secretly into the well of the ship, and with a spike-gimlet, to bore three holes, as near the keel as he could, and lay something against it, that the force of the water entering, might make no great noise, nor be discovered by a boiling up.

THOMAS MOONE at the hearing hereof, being utterly dismayed, desired to know "What cause there might be, to move him to sink so good a bark of his own, new and strong; and that, by *his* means, who had been in two so rich and gainful voyages in her with himself heretofore: If his brother, the Master, and the rest of the company [*numbering* 26, *see p.* 228] should know of such his fact, he thought verily they would kill him."

But when our Captain had imparted to him his cause, and had persuaded him with promise that it should not be known, till all of them should be glad of it: he understood it, and did it accordingly.

The next morning [15th August] our Captain took his pinnace

very early, purposing to go a fishing, for that there is very great store on the coast; and falling aboard the *Swan*, calleth for his brother to go with him, who rising suddenly, answereth that "He would follow presently, or if it would please him to stay a very little, he would attend him."

Our Captain perceiving the feat wrought, would not hasten him; but in rowing away, demanded of them, "Why their bark was so deep?" as making no great account of it. But, by occasion of this demand, his brother sent one down to the Steward, to know "Whether there were any water in the ship? or what other cause might be?"

The Steward, hastily stepping down at his usual scuttle, was wet up to his waist, and shifting with more haste to come up again as if the water had followed him, cried out that "The ship was full of water!" There was no need to hasten the company, some to the pump, others to search for the leak, which the Captain of the bark seeing they did, on all hands, very willingly; he followed his brother, and certified him of "the strange chance befallen them that night; that whereas they had not pumped twice in six weeks before, now they had six feet of water in hold: and therefore he desireth leave from attending him in fishing, to intend the search and remedy of the leak." And when our Captain with his company preferred [*offered*] to go to help them; he answered, "They had men enough aboard, and prayed him to continue his fishing, that they might have some part of it for their dinner." Thus returning, he found his company had taken great pain, but had freed the water very little: yet such was their love to the bark, as our Captain well knew, that they ceased not, but to the utmost of their strength, laboured all that they might till three in the afternoon; by which time, the company perceiving, that (though they had been relieved by our Captain himself and many of his company) yet they were not able to free above a foot and a half of water, and could have no likelihood of finding the leak, had now a less liking of her than before, and greater content to hear of some means for remedy.

Whereupon our Captain (consulting them what they thought best to be done) found that they had more desire to have all as he thought fit, than judgement to conceive any means of remedy. And therefore he propounded, that himself would go in the pinnace, till he could provide him some

handsome frigate; and that his brother should be Captain in the admiral [*flag-ship*] and the Master should also be there placed with him, instead of this: which seeing they could not save, he would have fired that the enemy might never recover her: but first all the pinnaces should be brought aboard her, that every one might take out of her whatever they lacked or liked.

This, though the company at the first marvelled at; yet presently it was put in execution and performed that night.

Our Captain had his desire, and men enough for his pinnaces.

The next morning (16th August) we resolved to seek out some fit place, in the Sound of Darien, where we might safely leave our ship at anchor, not discoverable by the enemy, who thereby might imagine us quite departed from the coast, and we the meantime better follow our purposes with our pinnaces; of which our Captain would himself take two to Rio Grande [*Magdalena*], and the third leave with his brother to seek the Cimaroons.

Upon this resolution, we set sail presently for the said Sound; which within five days (21st August) we recovered: abstaining of purpose from all such occasion, as might hinder our determination, or bewray [*betray*] our being upon the coast.

As soon as we arrived where our Captain intended, and had chosen a fit and convenient road out of all trade [*to or from any Mart*] for our purpose; we reposed ourselves there, for some fifteen days, keeping ourselves close, that the bruit of our being upon the coast might cease.

But in the meantime, we were not idle: for beside such ordinary works, as our Captain, every month did usually inure us to, about the trimming and setting of his pinnaces, for their better sailing and rowing: he caused us to rid a large plot of ground, both of trees and brakes, and to build us houses sufficient for all our lodging, and one especially for all our public meetings; wherein the Negro which fled to us before, did us great service, as being well acquainted with the country, and their means of building. Our archers made themselves butts to shoot at, because we had many that delighted in that exercise, and wanted not a fletcher to keep our bows and arrows in order. The rest of the company, every one as he liked best, made his disport at bowls, quoits, keiles, &c. For our Captain allowed one half of the company

to pass their time thus, every other day interchangeable; the other half being enjoined to the necessary works, about our ship and pinnaces, and the providing of fresh victuals, fish, fowl, hogs, deer, conies, &c., whereof there is great plenty. Here our smiths set up their forge, as they used, being furnished out of England, with anvil, iron, coals, and all manner of necessaries, which stood us in great stead.

At the end of these fifteen days (5th September), our Captain leaving his ship in his brother's charge, to keep all things in order; himself took with him, according to his former determination, two pinnaces for Rio Grande, and passing by Cartagena but out of sight, when we were within two leagues of the river, we landed (8th September) to the westward on the Main, where we saw great store of cattle. There we found some Indians, who asking us in friendly sort, in broken Spanish, "What we would have?" and understanding that we desired fresh victuals in traffic; they took such cattle for us as we needed, with ease and so readily, as if they had a special commandment over them, whereas they would not abide us to come near them. And this also they did willingly, because our Captain, according to his custom, contented them for their pains, with such things as they account greatly of; in such sort that they promised, we should have there of them at any time, what we would.

The same day, we departed thence to Rio Grande [*Magdalena*], where we entered about three of the clock in the afternoon. There are two entries into this river, of which we entered the wester[n]most called *Boca Chica*. The freshet [*current*] is so great, that we being half a league from the mouth of it, filled fresh water for our beverage.

From three o'clock till dark at night, we rowed up the stream; but the current was so strong downwards, that we got but two leagues, all that time. We moored our pinnaces to a tree that night: for that presently, with the closing of the evening, there fell a monstrous shower of rain, with such strange and terrible claps of thunder, and flashes of lightning, as made us not a little to marvel at, although our Captain had been acquainted with such like in that country, and told us that they continue seldom longer than three-quarters of an hour.

This storm was no sooner ceast, but it became very calm,

and therewith there came such an innumerable multitude of a kind of flies of that country, called mosquitoes, like our gnats, which bite so spitefully, that we could not rest all that night, nor find means to defend ourselves from them, by reason of the heat of the country. The best remedy we then found against them, was the juice of lemons.

At the break of day (9th Sept.), we departed, rowing in the eddy, and hauling up by the trees where the eddy failed, with great labour, by spells, without ceasing, each company their half-hourglass: without meeting any, till about three o'clock in the afternoon, by which time we could get but five leagues ahead.

Then we espied a canoe, with two Indians fishing in the river; but we spake not to them, least so we might be descried: nor they to us, as taking us to be Spaniards. But within an hour after, we espied certain houses, on the other side of the river, whose channel is twenty-five fathom deep, and its breadth so great, that a man can scantly be discerned from side to side. Yet a Spaniard which kept those houses, had espied our pinnaces; and thinking we had been his countrymen, made a smoke, for a signal to turn that way, as being desirous to speak with us. After that, we espying this smoke, had made with it, and were half the river over, he wheaved [*waved*] to us, with his hat and his long hanging sleeves, to come ashore.

But as we drew nearer to him, and he discerned that we were not those he looked for; he took his heels, and fled from his houses, which we found to be, five in number, all full of white rusk, dried bacon, that country cheese (like Holland cheese in fashion, but far more delicate in taste, of which they send into Spain as special presents) many sorts of sweetmeats, and conserves; with great store of sugar: being provided to serve the Fleet returning to Spain.

With this store of victuals, we loaded our pinnaces; by the shutting in of the day, we were ready to depart; for that we hastened the rather, by reason of an intelligence given us by certain Indian women which we found in those houses: that the frigates (these are ordinarily thirty, or upwards, which usually transport the merchandise, sent out of Spain to Cartagena from thence to these houses, and so in great canoes up hence into Nuevo Reyno, for which, the river running many hundred of leagues within the land serveth very fitly:

and return in exchange, the gold and treasure, silver, victuals, and commodities, which that kingdom yields abundantly) were not yet returned from Cartagena, since the first alarm they took of our being there.

As we were going aboard our pinnaces from these Storehouses (10th Sept.), the Indians of a great town called Villa del Rey, some two miles distant from the water's side where we landed, were brought down by the Spaniards into the bushes, and shot arrows; but we rowed down the stream with the current (for that the wind was against us) only one league; and because it was night, anchored till the morning, when we rowed down to the mouth of the river, where we unloaded all our provisions, and cleansed our pinnaces, according to our Captain's custom, and took it in again, and the same day went to the Westward.

In this return, we descried a ship, a barque, and a frigate, of which the ship and frigate went for Cartagena, but the Barque was bound to the Northwards, with the wind easterly, so that we imagined she had some gold or treasure going for Spain: therefore we gave her chase, but taking her, and finding nothing of importance in her, understanding that she was bound for sugar and hides, we let her go; and having a good gale of wind, continued our former course to our ship and company.

In the way between Cartagena and Tolou, we took [11th September] five or six frigates, which were laden from Tolou, with live hogs, hens, and maize which we call Guinea wheat. Of these, having gotten what intelligence they could give, of their preparations for us, and divers opinions of us, we dismissed all the men; only staying two frigates with us, because they were so well stored with good victuals.

Within three days after, we arrived at the place which our Captain chose, at first, to leave his ship in, which was called by our Captain, Port Plenty; by reason we brought in thither continually all manner store of good victuals, which we took, going that way by sea, for the victualling of Cartagena and Nombre de Dios as also the Fleets going and coming out of Spain. So that if we had been two thousand, yea three thousand persons, we might with our pinnaces easily have provided them sufficient victuals of wine, meal, rusk, *cassavi*

(a kind of bread made of a root called Yucca, whose juice is poison, but the substance good and wholesome), dried beef, dried fish, live sheep, live hogs, abundance of hens, besides the infinite store of dainty flesh fish, very easily to be taken every day; insomuch that we were forced to build four several magazines or storehouses, some ten, some twenty leagues asunder; some in islands, some in the Main, providing ourselves in divers places, that though the enemy should, with force, surprise any one, yet we might be sufficiently furnished, till we had "made" our voyage as we did hope. In building of these, our Negro's help was very much, as having a special skill, in the speedy erection of such houses.

This our store was much, as thereby we relieved not only ourselves and the Cimaroons while they were with us; but also two French ships in extreme want.

For in our absence, Captain JOHN DRAKE, having one of our pinnaces, as was appointed, went in with the Main, and as he rowed aloof the shore, where he was directed by DIEGO the Negro aforesaid, which willingly came unto us at Nombre de Dios, he espied certain of the Cimaroons; with whom he dealt so effectually, that in conclusion he left two of our men with their leader, and brought aboard two of theirs: agreeing that they should meet him again the next day, at a river midway between the Cabezas [*Cabeza is Spanish for Headland*] and our ships; which they named Rio Diego.

These two being very sensible men, chosen out by their commander [*chief*], did, with all reverence and respect, declare unto our Captain, that their nation conceited great joy of his arrival, because they knew him to be an enemy to the Spaniards, not only by his late being in Nombre de Dios, but also by his former voyages; and therefore were ready to assist and favour his enterprises against his and their enemies to the uttermost: and to that end their captain and company did stay at this present near the mouth of Rio Diego, to attend what answer and order should be given them; that they would have marched by land, even to this place, but that the way is very long, and more troublesome, by reason of many steep mountains, deep rivers, and thick brakes: desiring therefore, that it might please our Captain to take some order, as he thought best, with all convenient speed in this behalf.

Our Captain considering the speech of these persons, and

weighing it with his former intelligences had not only by Negroes, but Spaniards also, whereof he was always very careful: as also conferring it with his brother's informations of the great kindness that they shewed him, being lately with them: after he had heard the opinions of those of best service with him, "what were fittest to be done presently?" resolved himself with his brother, and the two Cimaroons, in his two pinnaces, to go toward this river. As he did the same evening, giving order, that the ship and the rest of his fleet should the next morning follow him, because there was a place of as great safety and sufficiency, which his brother had found out near the river. The safety of it consisted, not only in that which is common all along that coast from Tolou to Nombre de Dios, being above sixty leagues, that it is a most goodly and plentiful country, and yet inhabited not with one Spaniard, or any for the Spaniards: but especially in that it lieth among a great many of goodly islands full of trees. Where, though there be channels, yet there are such rocks and shoals, that no man can enter by night without great danger; nor by day without discovery, whereas our ships might lie hidden within the trees.

The next day (14th September) we arrived at this river appointed, where we found the Cimaroons according to promise: the rest of their number were a mile up, in a wood by the river's side. There after we had given them entertainment, and received good testimonies of their joy and good will towards us, we took two more of them into our pinnace, leaving our two men with the rest of theirs, to march by land, to another river called Rio Guana, with intent there to meet with another company of Cimaroons which were now in the mountains.

So we departed that day from Rio Diego, with our pinnaces, towards our ship, as marvelling that she followed us not as was appointed.

But two days after (16th September), we found her in the place where we left her; but in far other state, being much spoiled and in great danger, by reason of a tempest she had in our absence.

As soon as we could trim our ship, being some two days, our Captain sent away (18th September) one of his pinnaces, towards the bottom of the bay, amongst the shoals and sandy

islands, to sound out the channel, for the bringing in of our ship nearer the Main.

The next day (19th September) we followed, and were with wary pilotage, directed safely into the best channel, with much ado to recover the road, among so many flats and shoals. It was near about five leagues from the Cativaas, betwixt an island and the Main, where we moored our ship. The island was not above four cables in length from the Main, being in quantity some three acres of ground, flat and very full of trees and bushes.

We were forced to spend the best part of three days, after our departure from our Port Plenty, before we were quiet in this new found road [*on Rio Diego*, *see pp.* 250 *and* 251] (22nd September), which we had but newly entered, when our two men and the former troop of Cimaroons, with twelve others whom they had met in the mountains, came (23rd September) in sight over against our ship, on the Main. Whence we fet[ched] them all aboard, to their great comfort and our content: they rejoicing that they should have some fit opportunity to wreak their wrongs on the Spaniards; we hoping that now our voyage should be bettered.

At our first meeting, when our Captain had moved them, to shew him the means which they had to furnish him with gold and silver; they answered plainly, that "had they known gold had been his desire; they would have satisfied him with store, which, for the present, they could not do: because the rivers, in which they sunk great store (which they had taken from the Spaniards, rather to despite them than for love of gold) were now so high, that they could not get it out of such depths for him; and because the Spaniards, in these rainy months, do not use [*are not accustomed*] to carry their treasure by land."

This answer although it were somewhat unlooked for; yet nothing discontented us, but rather persuaded us farther of their honest and faithful meaning toward us. Therefore our Captain to entertain these five months, commanded all our ordnance and artillery ashore, with all our other provisions: sending his pinnaces to the Main, to bring over great trees, to make a fort upon the same island, for the planting of all our ordnance therein, and for our safeguard, if the enemy, in all this time, should chance to come.

Our Cimaroons (24th September) cut down Palmito boughs and branches, and with wonderful speed raised up two large houses for all our company. Our fort was then made, by reason of the place, triangle-wise, with main timber, and earth of which the trench yielded us good store, so that we made it thirteen feet in height. [*Fort Diego.*]

But after we had continued upon this island fourteen days, our Captain having determined, with three pinnaces, to go for Cartagena left (7th October), his brother JOHN DRAKE, to govern these who remained behind with the Cimaroons to finish the fort which he had begun: for which he appointed him to fetch boards and planks, as many as his pinnaces would carry, from the prize we took at Rio Grande, and left at the Cativaas, where she drove ashore and wrecked in our absence: but now she might serve commodiously, to supply our use, in making platforms for our ordnance. Thus our Captain and his brother took their leave; the one to the Eastward, and the other to the Cativaas.

That night, we came to an isle, which he called Spur-kite land, because we found there great store of such a kind of bird in shape, but very delicate, of which we killed and roasted many; staying there till the next day midnoon (8th October), when we departed thence. And about four o'clock recovered a big island in our way, where we stayed all night, by reason that there was great store of fish, and especially of a great kind of shell-fish of a foot long. We called them Whelks.

The next morning (9th October), we were clear of these islands and shoals, and hauled off into the sea. About four days after (13th October), near the island of St. Bernards, we chased two frigates ashore; and recovering one of these islands, made our abode there some two days (14th–15th October) to wash our pinnaces and to take of the fish.

Thence we went towards Tolou, and that day (16th October) landed near the town in a garden, where we found certain Indians, who delivered us their bows and arrows, and gathered for us such fruit as the garden did yield, being many sorts of dainty fruits and roots, [we] still contenting them for what we received. Our Captain's principal intent in taking this and other places by the way, not being for any other cause, but

only to learn true intelligence of the state of the country and of the Fleets.

Hence we departed presently, and rowed towards Charesha, the island of Cartagena; and entered in at Bocha Chica, and having the wind large, we sailed in towards the city, and let fall our grappers [*grappling irons*] betwixt the island and the Main, right over against the goodly Garden Island. In which, our Captain would not suffer us to land, notwithstanding our importunate desire, because he knew, it might be dangerous: for that they are wont to send soldiers thither, when they know of any Men-of-war on the coast; which we found accordingly. For within three hours after, passing by the point of the island, we had a volley of a hundred shot from them, and yet there was but one of our men hurt.

This evening (16th October) we departed to sea; and the day following (17th October), being some two leagues off the harbour, we took a bark, and found that the captain and his wife with the better sort of the passengers, had forsaken her, and were gone ashore in the Gundeloe [*ship's boat*]: by occasion whereof we boarded without resistance, though they were well provided with swords and targets and some small shot, besides four iron bases. She was 50 tons, having ten mariners, five or six Negroes, great store of soap and sweet meat, bound from St. Domingo to Cartagena. This Captain left behind him a silk ancient [*flag*] with his arms; as might be thought, in hasty departing.

The next day (18th October), we sent all the company ashore to seek their masters, saving a young Negro two or three years old, which we brought away; but kept the bark, and in her, bore into the mouth of Cartagena harbour, where we anchored.

That afternoon, certain horsemen came down to the point by the wood side, and with the *Scrivano* fore-mentioned, came towards our bark with a flag of truce, desiring of our Captain's safe conduct for his coming and going; the which being granted, he came aboard us, giving our Captain "great thanks for his manifold favours, &c., promising that night before daybreak, to bring as much victuals as they would desire, what shift so ever he made, or what danger soever incurred of law and punishment." But this fell out to be nothing but a device of the Governor forced upon the

Scrivano, to delay time, till they might provide themselves of sufficient strength to entrap us: for which this fellow, by his smooth speech, was thought a fit means. So by sun rising, (19th October), when we perceived his words but words, we put to sea to the westward of the island, some three leagues off, where we lay at hull the rest of all that day and night.

The next day (20th October), in the afternoon, there came out of Cartagena, two frigates bound for St. Domingo, the one of 58, the other of 12 tons, having nothing in them but ballast. We took them within a league of the town, and came to anchor with them within sacre shot of the east Bulwark. There were in those frigates some twelve or thirteen common mariners, which entreated to be set ashore. To them our Captain gave the great[er] frigate's gundeloe, and dismissed them.

The next morning (21st October) when they came down to the wester[n] point with a flag of truce, our Captain manned one of his pinnaces and rowed ashore. When we were within a cable's length of the shore, the Spaniards fled, hiding themselves in the woods, as being afraid of our ordnance; but indeed to draw us on to land confidently, and to presume of our strength. Our Captain commanding the grapnell to be cast out of the stern, veered the pinnace ashore, and as soon as she touched the sand, he alone leapt ashore in their sight, to declare that he durst set his foot a land: but stayed not among them, to let them know, that though he had not sufficient forces to conquer them, yet he had sufficient judgement to take heed of them.

And therefore perceiving their intent, as soon as our Captain was aboard, we hauled off upon our grapner and rid awhile.

They presently came forth upon the sand[s], and sent a youth, as with a message from the Governor, to know, "What our intent was, to stay upon the coast?"

Our Captain answered, "He meant to traffic with them; for he had tin, pewter, cloth, and other merchandise that they needed."

The youth swam back again with this answer, and was presently returned, with another message: that, "The King had forbidden to traffic with any foreign nation for any commodities, except powder and shot; of which, if he had any store, they would be his merchants."

He answered, that "He was come from his country, to exchange his commodities for gold and silver, and is not purposed to return without his errand. They are like, in his opinion, to have little rest, if that, by fair means, they would not traffic with him."

He gave this messenger a fair shirt for a reward, and so returned him: who rolled his shirt about his head and swam very speedily.

We heard no answer all that day; and therefore toward night we went aboard our frigates and reposed ourselves, setting and keeping very orderly all that night our watch, with great and small shot.

The next morning (22nd October) the wind, which had been westerly in the evening, altered to the Eastward.

About the dawning of the day, we espied two sails turning towards us, whereupon our Captain weighed with his pinnaces, leaving the two frigates unmanned. But when we were come somewhat nigh them, the wind calmed, and we were fain to row towards them, till that approaching very nigh, we saw many heads peering over board. For, as we perceived, these two frigates were manned and set forth out of Cartagena, to fight with us, and, at least, to impeach or busy us; whilst by some means or other they might recover the frigates from us.

But our Captain prevented both their drifts. For commanding JOHN OXNAM to stay with the one pinnace, to entertain these two Men-of-war; himself in the other made such speed, that he got to his frigates which he had left at anchor; and caused the Spaniards (who in the meantime had gotten aboard in a small canoe, thinking to have towed them within the danger of their shot) to make greater haste thence, than they did thither.

For he found that in shifting thence, some of them were fain to swim aland (the canoe not being able to receive them) and had left their apparel, some their rapiers and targets, some their flasks and calivers behind them; although they were towing away of one of them.

Therefore considering that we could not man them, we sunk the one, and burnt the other, giving them to understand by this, that we perceived their secret practices.

This being done, he returned to JOHN OXNAM; who all this

while lay by the Men-of-war without proffering to fight. And as soon as our Captain was come up to these frigates, the wind blew much from the sea, so that, we being betwixt the shore and them, were in a manner forced to bear room into the harbour before them, to the great joy of the Spaniards; who beheld it; in supposing, that we would still have fled before them. But as soon as we were in the harbour, and felt smooth water, our pinnaces, as we were assured of, getting the wind, we sought with them upon the advantage, so that after a few shot exchanged, and a storm rising, they were contented to press no nearer. Therefore as they let fall their anchors, we presently let drop our grapner in the wind of them: which the Spanish soldiers seeing, considering the disadvantage of the wind, the likelihood of the storm to continue, and small hope of doing any good, they were glad to retire themselves to the town.

But by reason of the foul and tempestuous weather, we rode therein four days, feeling great cold, by reason we had such sore rains with westerly wind, and so little succour in our pinnaces.

The fifth day (27th October) there came in a frigate from the sea, which seeing us make towards her, ran herself ashore, unhanging her rudder and taking away her sails, that she might not easily be carried away. But when we were come up to her, we perceived about a hundred horse and foot, with their furniture, come down to the point of the Main, where we interchanged some shot with them. One of our great shot passed so near a brave cavalier of theirs, that thereby they were occasioned to advise themselves, and retreat into the woods: where they might sufficiently defend and rescue the frigate from us, and annoy us also, if we stayed long about her.

Therefore we concluded to go to sea again, putting forth through *Boca Chica*, with intent to take down our masts, upon hope of fair weather, and to ride under the rocks called *Las Serenas*, which are two leagues off at sea, as we had usually done aforetime, so that they could not discern us from the rocks. But, there, the sea was mightily grown, that we were forced to take the harbour again; where we remained six days, notwithstanding the Spaniards grieved greatly at our abode there so long.

They put (2nd November) another device in practice to endanger us.

For they sent forth a great shallop, a fine gundeloe, and a great canoe, with certain Spaniards with shot, and many Indians with poisoned arrows, as it seemed, with intent to begin some fight, and then to fly. For as soon as we rowed toward them and interchanged shot, they presently retired and went ashore into the woods, where an ambush of some sixty shot were laid for us: besides two pinnaces and a frigate warping towards us, which were manned as the rest. They attempted us very boldly, being assisted by those others, which from out of the wood, had gotten aboard the gundeloe and canoe, and seeing us bearing from them (which we did in respect of the *ambuscado*), they encouraged themselves and assured their fellows of the day.

But our Captain weighing this their attempt, and being out of danger of their shot from the land, commanding his other pinnace to be brought ahead of him, and to let fall their grapners each ahead the other, environed both the pinnaces with bonnets, as for a close fight, and then wheaved [*waved*] them aboard him.

They kept themselves upon their oars at caliver-shot distance, spending powder apace; as we did some two or three hours. We had only one of our men wounded in that fight. What they had is unknown to us, but we saw their pinnaces shot through in divers places, and the powder of one of them took fire; whereupon we weighed, intending to bear room to overrun them: which they perceiving, and thinking that we would have boarded them, rowed away amain to the defence they had in the wood, the rather because they were disappointed of their help that they expected from the frigate; which was warping towards us, but by reason of the much wind that blew, could not come to offend us or succour them.

Thus seeing that we were still molested, and no hope remained of any purchase to be had in this place any longer; because we were now so notably made known in those parts, and because our victuals grew scant: as soon as the weather waxed somewhat better (the wind continuing always westerly, so that we could not return to our ships) our Captain thought best to go (3rd November) to the Eastward, towards *Rio Grande* [Magdalena] long the coast, where we had been before, and found great store of victuals.

But when after two days' sailing, we were arrived (5th November) at the villages of store, where before we had furnished ourselves with abundance of hens, sheep, calves, hogs, &c.; now we found bare nothing, not so much as any people left: for that they, by the Spaniards' commandments, had fled to the mountains, and had driven away all their cattle, that we might not be relieved by them. Herewith being very sorry, because much of our victuals in our pinnaces was spoilt by the foul weather at sea and rains in harbour. A frigate being descried at sea revived us, and put us in some hope for the time, that in her we should find sufficient; and thereupon it may easily be guessed, how much we laboured to recover her: but when we had boarded her, and understood that she had neither meat nor money, but that she was bound for *Rio Grande* to take in provision upon bills, our great hope converted into grief.

We endured with our allowance seven or eight days more, proceeding to the Eastward, and bearing room for Santa Marta, upon hope to find some shipping in the road, or limpets on the rocks, or succour against the storm in that good harbour. Being arrived; and seeing no shipping; we anchored under the wester[n] point, where is high land, and, as we thought, free in safety from the town, which is in the bottom of the bay: not intending to land there, because we knew that it was fortified, and that they had intelligence of us.

But the Spaniards (knowing us to be Men-of-war, and misliking that we should shroud under their rocks without their leave) had conveyed some thirty or forty shot among the cliffs, which annoyed us so spitefully and so unrevengedly, for that they lay hidden behind the rocks, but we lay open to them, that we were soon weary of our harbour, and enforced (for all the storm without and want within) to put to sea. Which though these enemies of ours were well contented withal, yet for a farewell, as we came open of the town, they sent us a culverin shot; which made a near escape, for it fell between our pinnaces, as we were upon conference of what was best to be done.

The company advised that if it pleased him, they might put themselves a land, some place to the Eastward to get victuals, and rather hope for courtesy from the country-people, than

continue at sea, in so long cold, and great a storm in so leaky a pinnace. But our Captain would in no wise like of that advice; he thought it better to bear up towards Rio de [la] Hacha, or Coriçao [*Curaçao*], with hope to have plenty without great resistance: because he knew, either of the islands were not very populous, or else it would be very likely that there would be found ships of victual in a readiness.

The company of the other pinnace answered, that "They would willingly follow him through the world; but in this they could not see how either their pinnaces should live in that sea, without being eaten up in that storm, or they themselves able to endure so long time, with so slender provision as they had, viz., only one gammon of bacon and thirty pounds of biscuit for eighteen men."

Our Captain replied, that "They were better provided than himself was, who had but one gammon of bacon, and forty pounds of biscuit for his twenty-four men; and therefore he doubted not but they would take such part as he did, and willingly depend upon GOD's Almighty providence, which never faileth them that trust in Him."

With that he hoisted his foresail, and set his course for Coriçao; which the rest perceiving with sorrowful hearts in respect of the weak pinnace, yet desirous to follow their Captain, consented to take the same course.

We had not sailed past three leagues, but we had espied a sail plying to the Westward, with her two courses, to our great joy: who vowed together, that we would have her, or else it should cost us dear.

Bearing with her, we found her to be a Spanish ship of above 90 tons, which being wheaved [*waved*] amain by us, despised our summons, and shot off her ordnance at us.

The sea went very high, so that it was not for us to attempt to board her, and therefore we made fit small sail to attend upon her, and keep her company to her small content, till fairer weather might lay the sea. We spent not past two hours in our attendance, till it pleased GOD, after a great shower, to send us a reasonable calm, so that we might use our pieces [*i.e.*, *bases*] and approach her at pleasure, in such sort that in short time we had taken her; finding her laden with victuals well powdered [*salted*] and dried: which at that present we received as sent us of GOD's great mercy.

After all things were set in order, and that the wind increased towards night, we plied off and on, till day (13th November), at what time our Captain sent in ELLIS HIXOM, who had then charge of his pinnace, to search out some harbour along the coast; who having found out a little one, some ten or twelve leagues to the east of Santa Marta, where in sounding he had good ground and sufficient water, presently returned, and our Captain brought in his new prize. Then by promising liberty, and all the apparel to the Spaniards which we had taken, if they would bring us to water and fresh victuals; the rather by their means, we obtained of the inhabitants (Indians) what they had, which was plentiful. These Indians were clothed and governed by a Spaniard, which dwelt in the next town, not past a league off. We stayed there all day, watering and wooding, and providing things necessary, by giving content and satisfaction of the Indians. But towards night our captain called all of us aboard (only leaving the Spaniards lately taken in the prize ashore, according to our promise made them, to their great content; who acknowledged that our Captain did them a far greater favour in setting them freely at liberty, than he had done them displeasure in taking their ship), and so set sail.

The sickness which had begun to kindle among us, two or three days before, did this day shew itself, in CHARLES GLUB, one of our Quarter-Masters, a very tall man, and a right good mariner; taken away, to the great grief both of Captain and company. What the cause of this malady was, we knew not of certainty, we imputed it to the cold which our men had taken, lying without succour in the pinnaces. But howsoever it was, thus it pleased GOD to visit us, and yet in favour to restore unto health all the rest of our company, that were touched with this disease; which were not a few.

The next morning (15th November) being fair weather, though the wind continued contrary, our Captain commanded the *Minion*, his lesser pinnace, to hasten away before him towards his ships at Fort Diego within the Cabeças [*Headlands*] to carry news of his coming, and to put all things in a readiness for our land journey, if they heard anything of the Fleet's arrival by the Cimaroons; giving the *Minion* charge if they wanted wine, to take St. Bernards in their way, and

there take in some such portion as they thought good, of the wines which we had there hidden in the sand.

We plied to windwards, as near as we could, so that within seven-night after the *Minion* departed from us, we came (22nd November) to St. Bernards, finding but twelve *botijos* of wine of all the store we left, which had escaped the curious search of the enemy, who had been there; for they were deep in the ground.

Within four or five days after, we came (27th November) to our ship, where we found all other things in good order; but received very heavy news of the death of JOHN DRAKE, our Captain's brother, and another young man called RICHARD ALLEN, which were both slain at one time (9th October), as they attempted the boarding of a frigate, within two days after our departing from them.

The manner of it, as we learned by examination of the company, was this. When they saw this frigate at sea, as they were going towards their fort with planks to make the platforms, the company were very importunate on him, to give chase and set upon this frigate, which they deemed had been a fit booty for them. But he told them, that they "wanted weapons to assail; they knew not how the frigate was provided, they had their boats loaded with planks, to finish that his brother had commanded." But when this would not satisfy them, but that still they urged him with words and supposals: "If you will needs," said he, "adventure! it shall never be said that I will be hindmost, neither shall you report to my brother, that you lost your voyage by any cowardice you found in me!"

Thereupon every man shifted as they might for the time: and heaving their planks overboard, took them such poor weapons as they had: viz., a broken pointed rapier, one old visgee, and a rusty caliver: JOHN DRAKE took the rapier, and made a gauntlet of his pillow, RICHARD ALLEN the visgee, both standing at the head of the pinnace, called *Eion*. ROBERT took the caliver and so boarded. But they found the frigate armed round about with a close fight of hides, full of pikes and calivers, which were discharged in their faces, and deadly wounded those that were in the fore-ship, JOHN DRAKE in the belly, and RICHARD ALLEN in the head. But

notwithstanding their wounds, they with oars shifted off the pinnace, got clear of the frigate, and with all haste recovered their ship: where within an hour after, this young man of great hope, ended his days, greatly lamented of all the company.

Thus having moored our ships fast, our Captain resolved to keep himself close without being descried, until he might hear of the coming of the Spanish Fleet; and therefore set no more to sea; but supplied his wants, both for his own company and the Cimaroons, out of his foresaid magazine, beside daily out of the woods, with wild hogs, pheasants, and guanas: continuing in health (GOD be praised) all the meantime, which was a month at least; till at length about the beginning of January, half a score of our company fell down sick together (3rd Jan. 1573), and the most of them died within two or three days. So long that we had thirty at a time sick of this *calenture*, which attacked our men, either by reason of the sudden change from cold to heat, or by reason of brackish water which had been taken in by our pinnace, through the sloth of their men in the mouth of the river, not rowing further in where the water was good.

Among the rest, Joseph Drake, another of his brethren, died in our Captain's arms, of the same disease: of which, that the cause might be the better discerned, and consequently remedied, to the relief of others, by our Captain's appointment he was ripped open by the surgeon, who found his liver swollen, his heart as it were sodden, and his guts all fair. This was the first and last experiment that our Captain made of anatomy in this voyage.

The Surgeon that cut him open, over-lived him not past four days, although he was not touched with that sickness, of which he had been recovered about a month before: but only of an over-bold practice which he would needs make upon himself, by receiving an over-strong purgation of his own device, after which taken, he never spake; nor his Boy recovered the health which he lost by tasting it, till he saw England.

The Cimaroons, who, as is before said, had been entertained by our Captain in September last, and usually repaired to our ship, during all the time of our absence, ranged the country up and down, between Nombre de Dios and us, to learn what they might for us; whereof they gave our

Captain advertisement, from time to time; as now particularly, certain of them let him understand, that the Fleet had certainly arrived in Nombre de Dios.

Therefore he sent (30th January) the *Lion*, to the seamost islands of the Cativaas, to descry the truth of the report: by reason it must needs be, that if the Fleet were in Nombre de Dios, all frigates of the country would repair thitherward with victuals.

The *Lion*, within few days descried that she was sent for, espying a frigate, which she presently boarded and took, laden with maize, hens, and pompions from Tolou; who assured us of the whole truth of the arrival of the Fleet: in this frigate were taken one woman and twelve men, of whom one was the *Scrivano* of Tolou. These we used very courteously, keeping them diligently guarded from the deadly hatred of the Cimaroons; who sought daily by all means they could, to get them of our Captain, that they might cut their throats, to revenge their wrongs and injuries which the Spanish nation had done them: but our Captain persuaded them not to touch them, or give them ill countenance, while they were in his charge; and took order for their safety, not only in his presence, but also in his absence. For when he had prepared to take his journey for Panama, by land; he gave ELLIS HIXOM charge of his own ship and company, and especially of those Spaniards whom he had put into the great prize, which was hauled ashore to the island, which we termed Slaughter Island (because so many of our men died there), and used as a storehouse for ourselves, and a prison for our enemies.

All things thus ordered, our Captain conferring with his company, and the chiefest of the Cimaroons, what provisions were to be prepared for this great and long journey, what kind of weapons, what store of victuals, and what manner of apparel: was especially advised, to carry as great store of shoes as possible he might, by reason of so many rivers with stone and gravel as they were to pass. Which, accordingly providing, prepared his company for that journey, entering it upon Shrove-Tuesday (3rd February). At what time, there had died twenty-eight of our men, and a few whole men were left aboard with ELLIS HIXOM to keep the ship, and attend the sick, and guard the prisoners.

At his departure our Captain gave this Master straight charge, in any case not to trust any messenger, that should come in his name with any tokens, unless he brought his handwriting: which he knew could not be counterfeited by the Cimaroons or Spaniards.

We were in all forty-eight, of which eighteen only were English; the rest were Cimaroons, which, beside their arms, bare every one of them, a great quantity of victuals and provision, supplying our want of carriage in so long a march, so that we were not troubled with anything but our furniture. And because they could not carry enough to suffice us altogether; therefore (as they promised before) so by the way with their arrows, they provided for us competent store from time to time.

They have every one of them two sorts of arrows: the one to defend himself and offend the enemy, the other to kill his victuals. These for fight are somewhat like the Scottish arrow; only somewhat longer, and headed with iron, wood, or fish bones. But the arrows for provision are of three sorts, the first serveth to kill any great beast near [at] hand, as ox, stag, or wild boar: this hath a head of iron of a pound and a half weight, shaped in form like the head of a javelin or boar-spear, as sharp as any knife, making so large and deep a wound as can hardly be believed of him that hath not seen it. The second serveth for lesser beasts, and hath a head of three-quarters of a pound: this he most usually shooteth. The third serveth for all manner of birds: it hath a head of an ounce weight. And these heads though they be of iron only, yet are they so cunningly tempered, that they will continue a very good edge a long time: and though they be turned sometimes, yet they will never or seldom break. The necessity in which they stand hereof continually causeth them to have iron in far greater account than gold: and no man among them is of greater estimation, than he that can most perfectly give this temper unto it.

Every day we were marching by sun-rising. We continued till ten in the forenoon: then resting (ever near some river) till past twelve, we marched till four, and then by some river's side, we reposed ourselves in such houses, as

either we found prepared heretofore by them, when they travelled through these woods, or they daily built very readily for us in this manner.

As soon as we came to the place where we intended to lodge, the Cimaroons, presently laying down their burdens, fell to cutting of forks or posts, and poles or rafters, and palmito boughs, or plaintain leaves; and with great speed set up to the number of six houses. For every of which, they first fastened deep into the ground, three or four great posts with forks: upon them, they laid one transom, which was commonly about twenty feet, and made the sides, in the manner of the roofs of our country houses, thatching it close with those aforesaid leaves, which keep out water a long time: observing always that in the lower ground, where greater heat was, they left some three or four feet open unthatched below, and made the houses, or rather roofs, so many feet the higher. But in the hills, where the air was more piercing and the nights cold, they made our rooms always lower, and thatched them close to the ground, leaving only one door to enter in, and a lover [*louvre*] hole for a vent, in the midst of the roof. In every [one] of these, they made four several lodgings, and three fires, one in the midst, and one at each end of every house: so that the room was most temperately warm, and nothing annoyed with smoke, partly by reason of the nature of the wood which they use to burn, yielding very little smoke, partly by reason of their artificial making of it: as firing the wood cut in length like our billets at the ends, and joining them together so close, that though no flame or fire did appear, yet the heat continued without intermission.

Near many of the rivers where we stayed or lodged, we found sundry sorts of fruits, which we might use with great pleasure and safety temperately: Mammeas, Guayvas, Palmitos, Pinos, Oranges, Lemons, and divers other; from eating of which, they dissuaded us in any case, unless we eat very few of them, and those first dry roasted, as Plantains, Potato[e]s, and such like.

In journeying, as oft as by chance they found any wild swine, of which those hills and valleys have store, they would ordinarily, six at a time, deliver their burdens to the rest of their fellows, pursue, kill and bring away after us, as much

as they could carry, and time permitted. One day as we travelled, the Cimaroons found an otter, and prepared it to be drest: our Captain marvelling at it, PEDRO, our chief Cimaroon, asked him, "Are you a man of war, and in want; and yet doubt whether this be meat, that hath blood?"

Herewithal our Captain rebuked himself secretly, that he had so slightly considered of it before.

The third day of our journey (6th February), they brought us to a town of their own, seated near a fair river, on the side of a hill, environed with a dyke of eight feet broad, and a thick mud wall of ten feet high, sufficient to stop a sudden surpriser. It had one long and broad street, lying east and west, and two other cross streets of less breadth and length: there were in it some five or six and fifty households; which were kept so clean and sweet, that not only the houses, but the very streets were very pleasant to behold. In this town we saw they lived very civilly and cleanly. For as soon as we came thither, they washed themselves in the river; and changed their apparel, as also their women do wear, which was very fine and fitly made somewhat after the Spanish fashion, though nothing so costly. This town is distant thirty-five leagues from Nombre de Dios and forty-five from Panama. It is plentifully stored with many sorts of beasts and fowl, with plenty of maize and sundry fruits.

Touching their affection in religion, they have no kind of priests, only they held the Cross in great reputation. But at our Captain's persuasion, they were contented to leave their crosses, and to learn the *Lord's Prayer*, and to be instructed in some measure concerning GOD's true worship. They keep a continual watch in four parts, three miles off their town, to prevent the mischiefs, which the Spaniards intend against them, by the conducting of some of their own coats [*i.e.*, *Cimaroons*], which having been taken by the Spaniards have been enforced thereunto: wherein, as we learned, sometimes the Spaniards have prevailed over them, especially when they lived less careful; but since, they [watch] against the Spaniards, whom they killed like beasts, as often as they take them in the woods; having aforehand understood of their coming.

We stayed with them that night, and the next day (7th February) till noon; during which time, they related unto

us divers very strange accidents, that had fallen out between them and the Spaniards, namely [*especially*] one. A gallant gentleman entertained by the Governors of the country, undertook, the year last past [1572], with 150 soldiers, to put this town to the sword, men, women, and children. Being conducted to it by one of them, that had been taken prisoner, and won by great gifts; he surprised it half an hour before day, by which occasion most of the men escaped, but many of their women and children were slaughtered, or taken: but the same morning by sun rising (after that their guide was slain, in following another man's wife, and that the Cimaroons had assembled themselves in their strength) they behaved themselves in such sort, and drove the Spaniards to such extremity, that what with the disadvantage of the woods (having lost their guide and thereby their way), what with famine and want, there escaped not past thirty of them, to return answer to those which sent them.

Their king [*chief*] dwelt in a city within sixteen leagues south-east of Panama; which is able to make 1,700 fighting men.

They all intreated our Captain very earnestly, to make his abode with them some two or three days; promising that by that time, they would double his strength if he thought good. But he thanking them for their offer, told them, that "He could stay no longer! It was more than time to prosecute his purposed voyage. As for strength, he would wish no more than he had, although he might have presently twenty times as much!" Which they took as proceeding not only from kindness, but also from magnanimity; and therefore, they marched forth, that afternoon, with great good will.

This was the order of our march. Four of those Cimaroons that best knew the ways, went about a mile distance before us, breaking boughs as they went, to be a direction to those that followed; but with great silence, which they also required us to keep.

Then twelve of them were as it were our Vanguard, other twelve, our Rearward. We with their two Captains in the midst.

All the way was through woods very cool and pleasant, by reason of those goodly and high trees, that grow there so thick, that it is cooler travelling there under them in that

hot region, than it is in the most parts of England in the summer time. This [also] gave a special encouragement unto us all, that we understood there was a great Tree about the midway, from which, we might at once discern the North Sea from whence we came, and the South Sea whither we were going.

The fourth day following (11th February) we came to the height of the desired hill, a very high hill, lying East and West, like a ridge between the two seas, about ten of the clock: where [PEDRO] the chiefest of these Cimaroons took our Captain by the hand, and prayed him to follow him, if he was desirous to see at once the two seas, which he had so long longed for.

Here was that goodly and great high Tree, in which they had cut and made divers steps, to ascend up near unto the top, where they had also made a convenient bower, wherein ten or twelve men might easily sit: and from thence we might, without any difficulty, plainly see the Atlantic Ocean whence now we came, and the South Atlantic [*i.e.*, *Pacific Ocean*] so much desired. South and north of this Tree, they had felled certain trees, that the prospect might be the clearer; and near about the Tree there were divers strong houses, that had been built long before, as well by other Cimaroons as by these, which usually pass that way, as being inhabited in divers places in those waste countries.

After our Captain had ascended to this bower, with the chief Cimaroon, and having, as it pleased GOD, at that time, by reason of the brize [*breeze*], a very fair day, had seen that sea, of which he had heard such golden reports: he "besought Almighty GOD of His goodness, to give him life and leave to sail once in an English ship, in that sea!" And then calling up all the rest of our [17 *English*] men, he acquainted JOHN OXNAM especially with this his petition and purpose, if it would please GOD to grant him that happiness. Who understanding it, presently protested, that "unless our Captain did beat him from his company, he would follow him, by GOD's grace!"

Thus all, thoroughly satisfied with the sight of the seas, descended; and after our repast, continued our ordinary march through woods, yet two days more as before: without any great variety. But then (13th February) we came to

march in a champion country, where the grass groweth, not only in great lengths as the knot grass groweth in many places, but to such height, that the inhabitants are fain to burn it thrice in the year, that it may be able to feed the cattle, of which they have thousands.

For it is a kind of grass with a stalk, as big as a great wheaten reed, which hath a blade issuing from the top of it, on which though the cattle feed, yet it groweth every day higher, until the top be too high for an ox to reach. Then the inhabitants are wont to put fire to it, for the space of five or six miles together; which notwithstanding after it is thus burnt, within three days, springeth up fresh like green corn. Such is the great fruitfulness of the soil: by reason of the evenness of the day and night, and the rich dews which fall every morning.

In these three last days' march in the champion, as we past over the hills, we might see Panama five or six times a day; and the last day (14th February) we saw the ships riding in the road.

But after that we were come within a day's journey of Panama, our Captain (understanding by the Cimaroons that the Dames of Panama are wont to send forth hunters and fowlers for taking of sundry dainty fowl, which the land yieldeth; by whom if we marched not very heedfully, we might be descried) caused all his company to march out of all ordinary way, and that with as great heed, silence, and secrecy, as possibly they might, to the grove (which was agreed on four days before) lying within a league of Panama, where we might lie safely undiscovered near the highway, that leadeth from thence to Nombre de Dios.

Thence we sent a chosen Cimaroon, one that had served a master in Panama before time, in such apparel as the Negroes of Panama do use to wear, to be our espial, to go into the town, to learn the certain night, and time of the night, when the carriers laded the Treasure from the King's Treasure House to Nombre de Dios. For they are wont to take their journey from Panama to Venta Cruz, which is six leagues, ever by night; because the country is all champion, and consequently by day very hot. But from Venta Cruz to Nombre de Dios as oft as they travel by land with their treasure, they travel always by day and not by night,

because all that way is full of woods, and therefore very fresh and cool; unless the Cimaroons happily encounter them, and made them sweat with fear, as sometimes they have done: whereupon they are glad to guard their *Recoes* [*i.e.*, Recuas, *the Spanish word for a drove of beasts of burden; meaning here, a mule train*,] with soldiers as they pass that way.

This last day, our Captain did behold and view the most of all that fair city, discerning the large street which lieth directly from the sea into the land, South and North.

By three of the clock, we came to this grove; passing for the more secrecy alongst a certain river, which at that time was almost dried up.

Having disposed of ourselves in the grove, we despatched our spy an hour before night, so that by the closing in of the evening, he might be in the city; as he was. Whence presently he returned unto us, that which very happily he understood by companions of his. That the Treasurer of Lima intending to pass into Spain in the first *Adviso* (which was a ship of 350 tons, a very good sailer), was ready that night to take his journey towards Nombre de Dios, with his daughter and family: having fourteen mules in company: of which eight were laden with gold, and one with jewels. And farther, that there were two other *Recuas*, of fifty mules in each, laden with victuals for the most part, with some little quantity of silver, to come forth that night after the other.

There are twenty-eight of these *Recuas*; the greatest of them is of seventy mules, the less of fifty; unless some particular man hire for himself, ten, twenty, or thirty, as he hath need.

Upon this notice, we forthwith marched four leagues, till we came within two leagues of Venta Cruz, in which march two of our Cimaroons which were sent before, by scent of his match, found and brought a Spaniard, whom they had found asleep by the way, by scent of the said match, and drawing near thereby, heard him taking his breath as he slept; and being but one, they fell upon him, stopped his mouth from crying, put out his match, and bound him so, that they well near strangled him by that time he was brought unto us.

By examining him, we found all that to be true, which our spy had reported to us, and that he was a soldier entertained with others by the Treasurer, for guard and conduct of this treasure, from Venta Cruz to Nombre de Dios.

This soldier having learned who our Captain was, took courage, and was bold to make two requests unto him. The one that "He would command his Cimaroons which hated the Spaniards, especially the soldiers extremely, to spare his life; which he doubted not but they would do at his charge." The other was, that "seeing he was a soldier, and assured him, that they should have that night more gold, besides jewels, and pearls of great price, then all they could carry (if not, then he was to be dealt with how they would); but if they all found it so, then it might please our Captain to give unto him, as much as might suffice for him and his mistress to live upon, as he had heard our Captain had done to divers others: for which he would make his name as famous as any of them which had received like favour."

Being at the place appointed, our Captain with half his men [8 *English and* 15 *Cimaroons*], lay on one side of the way, about fifty paces off in the long grass; JOHN OXNAM with the Captain of the Cimaroons, and the other half, lay on the other side of the way, at the like distance: but so far behind, that as occasion served, the former company might take the foremost mules by the heads, and the hindmost because the mules tied together, are always driven one after another; and especially that if we should have need to use our weapons that night, we might be sure not to endamage our fellows. We had not lain thus in ambush much above an hour, but we heard the *Recuas* coming both from the city to Venta Cruz, and from Venta Cruz to the city, which hath a very common and great trade, when the fleets are there. We heard them by reason they delight much to have deep-sounding bells, which, in a still night, are heard very far off.

Now though there were as great charge given as might be, that none of our men should shew or stir themselves, but let all that came from Venta Cruz to pass quietly; yea, their *Recuas* also, because we knew that they brought nothing but merchandise from thence: yet one of our men, called ROBERT PIKE, having drunken too much *aqua vitæ* without water, forgot himself, and enticing a Cimaroon forth with him

was gone hard to the way, with intent to have shown his forwardness on the foremost mules. And when a cavalier from Venta Cruz, well mounted, with his page running at his stirrup, passed by, unadvisedly he rose up to see what he was: but the Cimaroon of better discretion pulled him down, and lay upon him, that he might not discover them any more. Yet by this, the gentleman had taken notice by seeing one half all in white: for that we had all put our shirts over our other apparel, that we might be sure to know our own men in the pell mell in the night. By means of this sight, the cavalier putting spurs to his horse, rode a false gallop; as desirous not only himself to be free of this doubt which he imagined, but also to give advertisement to others that they might avoid it.

Our Captain who had heard and observed by reason of the hardness of the ground and stillness of the night, the change of this gentleman's trot to a gallop, suspected that he was discovered, but could not imagine by whose fault, neither did the time give him leisure to search. And therefore considering that it might be, by reason of the danger of the place, well known to ordinary travellers: we lay still in expectation of the Treasurer's coming; and he had come forward to us, but that this horseman meeting him, and (as we afterwards learnt by the other *Recuas*) making report to him, what he had seen presently that night, what he heard of Captain DRAKE this long time, and what he conjectured to be most likely: *viz.*, that the said Captain DRAKE, or some for him, disappointed of his expectation, of getting any great treasure, both at Nombre de Dios and other places, was by some means or other come by land, in covert through the woods, unto this place, to speed of his purpose: and thereupon persuaded him to turn his *Recua* out of the way, and let the other *Recuas* which were coming after to pass on. They were whole *Recuas*, and loaded but with victuals for the most part, so that the loss of them were far less if the worst befell, and yet they should serve to discover them as well as the best.

Thus by the rechlessness of one of our company, and by the carefulness of this traveller; we were disappointed of a most rich booty: which is to be thought GOD would not should be taken, for that, by all likelihood, it was well gotten by that Treasurer.

The other two *Recuas* were no sooner come up to us, but being stayed and seized on. One of the Chief Carriers, a very sensible fellow, told our Captain by what means we were discovered, and counselled us to shift for ourselves betimes, unless we were able to encounter the whole force of the city and country before day would be about us.

It pleased us but little, that we were defeated of our golden *Recua*, and that in these we could find not past some two horse-loads of silver: but it grieved our Captain much more, that he was discovered, and that by one of his own men. But knowing it bootless to grieve at things past, and having learned by experience, that all safety in extremity, consisteth in taking of time [*i.e., by the forelock, making an instant decision*]: after no long consultation with PEDRO the chief of our Cimaroons, who declared that "there were but two ways for him: the one to travel back again the same secret way they came, for four leagues space into the woods, or else to march forward, by the highway to Venta Cruz, being two leagues, and make a way with his sword through the enemies." He resolved, considering the long and weary marches that we had taken, and chiefly that last evening and day before: to take now the shortest and readiest way: as choosing rather to encounter his enemies while he had strength remaining, than to be encountered or chased when we should be worn out with weariness: principally now having the mules to ease them that would, some part of the way.

Therefore commanding all to refresh themselves moderately with such store of victuals as we had here in abundance: he signified his resolution and reason to them all: asking PEDRO by name, "Whether he would give his hand not to forsake him?" because he knew that the rest of the Cimaroons would also then stand fast and firm, so faithful are they to their captain. He being very glad of his resolution, gave our Captain his hand, and vowed that "He would rather die at his foot, than leave him to the enemies, if he held this course."

So having strengthened ourselves for the time, we took our journey towards Venta Cruz, with help of the mules till we came within a mile of the town, where we turned away the *Recuas*, charging the conductors of them, not to follow us upon pain of their lives.

There, the way is cut through the woods, above ten or twelve feet broad, so as two *Recuas* may pass one by another. The fruitfulness of the soil, causeth that with often shredding and ridding the way, those woods grow as thick as our thickest hedges in England that are oftenest cut.

To the midst of this wood, a company of soldiers, which continually lay in that town, to defend it against the Cimaroons, were come forth, to stop us if they might on the way; if not, to retreat to their strength, and there to expect us. A Convent [*Monastery*] of Friars, of whom one was become a Leader, joined with these soldiers, to take such part as they did.

Our Captain understanding by our two Cimaroons, which with great heedfulness and silence, marched now, but about half a flight-shot before us, that it was time for us to arm and take us to our weapons, for they knew the enemy was at hand, by smelling of their match and hearing of a noise: had given us charge, that no one of us should make any shot, until the Spaniards had first spent their volley: which he thought they would not do before they had spoken, as indeed fell out.

For as soon as we were within hearing, a Spanish Captain cried out, "Hoo!" Our Captain answered him likewise, and being demanded "*Que gente?*" replied "Englishmen!" But when the said Commander charged him, "In the name of the King of Spain, his Master, that we should yield ourselves; promising in the word and faith of a Gentleman Soldier, that if we would so do, he would use us with all courtesy." Our Captain drawing somewhat near him said: "That for the honour of the Queen of England, his Mistress, he must have passage that way," and therewithal discharged his pistol towards him.

Upon this, they presently shot off their whole volley; which, though it lightly wounded our Captain, and divers of our men, yet it caused death to one only of our company called JOHN HARRIS, who was so powdered with hail-shot, (which they all used for the most part as it seemed, or else "quartered," for that our men were hurt with that kind) that we could not recover his life, though he continued all that day afterwards with us.

Presently as our Captain perceived their shot to come

slacking, as the latter drops of a great shower of rain, with his whistle he gave us his usual signal, to answer them with our shot and arrows, and so march onwards upon the enemy, with intent to come to handy-strokes, and to have joined with them; whom when we found retired as to a place of some better strength, he increased his pace to prevent them if he might. Which the Cimaroons perceiving, although by terror of the shot continuing, they were for the time stept aside; yet as soon as they discerned by hearing that we marched onward, they all rushed forward one after another, traversing the way, with their arrows ready in their bows, and their manner of country dance or leap, very singing, *Yó pehó! Yó pehó!* and so got before us, where they continued their leap and song, after the manner of their own country wars, till they and we overtook some of the enemy, who near the town's end, had conveyed themselves within the woods, to have taken their stand at us, as before.

But our Cimaroons now thoroughly encouraged, when they saw our resolution, brake in through the thickets, on both sides of them, forcing them to fly, Friars and all!: although divers of our men were wounded, and one Cimaroon especially was run through with one of their pikes, whose courage and mind served him so well notwithstanding, that he revenged his own death ere he died, by killing him that had given him that deadly wound.

We, with all speed, following this chase, entered the town of Venta Cruz, being of about forty or fifty houses, which had both a Governor and other officers and some fair houses, with many storehouses large and strong for the wares, which brought thither from Nombre de Dios, by the river of Chagres, so to be transported by mules to Panama: beside the Monastery, where we found above a thousand bulls and pardons, newly sent from Rome.

In those houses we found three gentlewomen, which had lately been delivered of children there, though their dwellings were in Nombre de Dios; because it hath been observed of long time, as they reported to us, that no Spaniard or white woman could ever be delivered in Nombre de Dios with safety of their children but that within two or three days they died; notwithstanding that being born and brought up in this Venta Cruz or Panama five or six years, and then

brought to Nombre de Dios, if they escaped sickness the first or second month, they commonly lived in it as healthily as in any other place: although no stranger (as they say) can endure there any long time, without great danger of death or extreme sickness.

Though at our first coming into the town with arms so suddenly, these ladies were in great fear, yet because our Captain had given straight charge to all the Cimaroons (that while they were in his company, they should never hurt any woman nor man that had not a weapon in his hand to do them hurt; which they earnestly promised, and no less faithfully performed) they had no wrong offered them, nor any thing taken from them, to the worth of a garter; wherein, albeit they had indeed sufficient safety and security, by those of his company, which our Captain sent unto them, of purpose to comfort them: yet they never ceased most earnestly entreating, that our Captain would vouchsafe to come to them himself for their more safety; which when he did, in their presence reporting the charge he had first given, and the assurance of his men, they were comforted.

While the guards which we had, not without great need, set, as well on the bridge which we had to pass over, as at the town's end where we entered (they have no other entrance into the town by land: but from the water's side there is one other to carry up and down their merchandise from their frigates) gained us liberty and quiet to stay in this town some hour and half: we had not only refreshed ourselves, but our company and Cimaroons had gotten some good pillage, which our Captain allowed and gave them (being not the thing he looked for) so that it were not too cumbersome or heavy in respect of our travel, or defence of ourselves.

A little before we departed, some ten or twelve horsemen came from Panama; by all likelihood, supposing that we were gone out of this town, for that all was so still and quiet, came to enter the town confidently: but finding their entertainment such as it was; they that could, rode faster back again for fear than they had ridden forward for hope.

Thus we having ended our business in this town, and the day beginning to spring, we marched over the bridge, observing the same order that we did before. There we were all safe in our opinion, as if we had been environed

with wall and trench, for that no Spaniard without his extreme danger could follow us. The rather now, for that our Cimaroons were grown very valiant. But our Captain considering that he had a long way to pass, and that he had been now well near a fortnight from his ship, where he had left his company but weak by reason of their sickness, hastened his journeys as much as he might, refusing to visit the other Cimaroon towns (which they earnestly desired him) and encouraging his own company with such example and speech, that the way seemed much shorter. For he marched most cheerfully, and assured us that he doubted not but ere he left that coast, we should all be bountifully paid and recompensed for all those pains taken: but by reason of this our Captain's haste, and leaving of their towns, we marched many days with hungry stomachs, much against the will of our Cimaroons: who if we would have stayed any day from this continual journeying, would have killed for us victuals sufficient.

In our absence, the rest of the Cimaroons had built a little town within three leagues off the port where our ship lay. There our Captain was contented, upon their great and earnest entreaties to make some stay; for that they alleged, it was only built for his sake. And indeed he consented the rather, that the want of shoes might be supplied by means of the Cimaroons, who were a great help unto us: all our men complaining of the tenderness of their feet, whom our Captain would himself accompany in their complaint, some times without cause, but some times with cause indeed; which made the rest to bear the burden the more easily.

These Cimaroons, during all the time that we were with burden, did us continually very good service, and in particular in this journey, being unto us instead of intelligencers, to advertise us; of guides in our way to direct us; of purveyors, to provide victuals for us; of house-wrights to build our lodgings; and had indeed able and strong bodies carrying all our necessaries: yea, many times when some of our company fainted with sickness of weariness, two Cimaroons would carry him with ease between them, two miles together, and at other times, when need was, they would shew themselves no less valiant than industrious, and of good judgement.

From this town, at our first entrance in the evening, on Saturday (22nd February), our Captain despatched a Cimaroon with a token and certain order to the Master: who had, these three weeks, kept good watch against the enemy, and shifted in the woods for fresh victual, for the relief and recovery of our men left aboard.

As soon as this messenger was come to the shore, calling to our ship, as bringing some news, he was quickly fet[ched] aboard by those which longed to hear of our Captain's speeding: but when he showed the toothpike of gold, which he said our Captain had sent for a token to ELLIS HIXOM, with charge to meet him at such a river: though the Master knew well the Captain's toothpike; yet by reason of his admonition and caveat [*warning*] given him at parting, he (though he bewrayed no sign of distrusting the Cimaroon) yet stood as amazed, least something had befallen our Captain otherwise than well. The Cimaroon perceiving this, told him, that it was night when he was sent away, so that our Captain could not send any letter, but yet with the point of his knife, he wrote something upon the toothpick, "which," he said, "should be sufficient to gain credit to the messenger."

Thereupon, the Master looked upon it, and saw written, *By me, FRANCIS DRAKE*: wherefore he believed, and according to the message, prepared what provision he could, and repaired to the mouth of the river of Tortugos, as the Cimaroons that went with him then named it.

That afternoon towards three a clock, we were come down to that river, not past half-an-hour before we saw our pinnace ready come to receive us: which was unto us all a double rejoicing: first that we saw them, and next, so soon. Our Captain with all our company praised GOD most heartily, for that we saw our pinnace and fellows again.

We all seemed to these, who had lived at rest and plenty all this while aboard, as men strangely changed (our Captain yet not much changed) in countenance and plight: and indeed our long fasting and sore travail might somewhat forepine and waste us; but the grief we drew inwardly, for that we returned without that gold and treasure we hoped for, did no doubt show her print and footsteps in our faces.

The rest of our men which were then missed, could not travel so well as our Captain, and therefore were left at the

Indian new town: and the next day (23rd February) we rowed to another river in the bottom of the bay and took them all aboard. Thus being returned from Panama, to the great rejoicing of our company, who were thoroughly revived with the report we brought from thence: especially understanding our Captain's purpose, that he meant not to leave off thus, but would once again attempt the same journey, whereof they also might be partakers.

Our Captain would not, in the meantime, suffer this edge and forwardness of his men to be dulled or rebated, by lying still idly unemployed, as knowing right well by continual experience, that no sickness was more noisome to impeach any enterprise than delay and idleness.

Therefore considering deeply the intelligences of other places of importance thereabouts, which he had gotten the former years; and particularly of Veragua, a rich town lying to the Westward, between Nombre de Dios and Nicaragua, where is the richest mine of fine gold that is on this North side: he consulted with his company touching their opinions, what was to be done in this meantime, and how they stood affected?

Some thought, that "It was most necessary to seek supply of victuals, that we might the better able to keep our men close and in health till our time came: and this was easy to be compassed, because the frigates with victuals went without great defence, whereas the frigate and barks with treasure, for the most part were wafted with great ships and store of soldiers."

Others yet judged, "We might better bestow our time in intercepting the frigates of treasure; first, for that our magazines and storehouses of victuals were reasonably furnished, and the country itself was so plentiful, that every man might provide for himself if the worst befell: and victuals might hereafter be provided abundantly as well as now: whereas the treasure never floateth upon the sea, so ordinarily as at this time of the Fleets being there, which time in no wise may be neglected."

The Cimaroons being demanded also their opinion (for that they were experienced in the particularities of all the towns

thereabouts, as in which some or other of them had served), declared that "by Veragua, Signior PEZORO (some time their master from whom they fled) dwelt; not in the town for fear of some surprise, but yet not far off from the town, for his better relief; in a very strong house of stone, where he had dwelt nineteen years at least, never travelling from home; unless happily once a year to Cartagena, or Nombre de Dios when the Fleets were there. He keepeth a hundred slaves at least in the mines, each slave being bound to bring in daily, clear gain (all charges deducted) three Pesos of Gold for himself and two for his women (8s. 3d. the Peso), amounting in the whole, to above £200 sterling [=£1,600 *now*] each day: so that he hath heaped a mighty mass of treasure together, which he keepeth in certain great chests, of two feet deep, three broad, and four long: being (notwithstanding all his wealth) bad and cruel not only to his slaves, but unto all men, and therefore never going abroad but with a guard of five or six men to defend his person from danger, which he feareth extraordinarily from all creatures."

"And as touching means of compassing this purpose, they would conduct him safely through the woods, by the same ways by which they fled, that he should not need to enter their havens with danger, but might come upon their backs altogether unlooked for. And though his house were of stone, so that it could not be burnt; yet if our Captain would undertake the attempt, they would undermine and overthrow, or otherwise break it open, in such sort, as we might have easy access to his greatest treasure."

Our Captain having heard all their opinions, concluded so that by dividing his company, the two first different sentences were both reconciled, both to be practised and put in use.

JOHN OXNAM appointed in the *Bear*, to be sent Eastward towards Tolou, to see what store of victuals would come athwart his half; and himself would to the Westward in the *Minion*, lie off and on the *Cabezas*, where was the greatest trade and most ordinary passage of those which transported treasure from Veragua and Nicaragua to the Fleet; so that no time might be lost, nor opportunity let slip either for victuals or treasure. As for the attempt of Veragua, or Signior PEZORO's house by land, by marching through the woods; he liked not of, lest it might overweary his men by continual

labour; whom he studied to refresh and strengthen for his next service forenamed.

Therefore using our Cimaroons most courteously, dismissing those that were desirous to their wives, with such gifts and favours as were most pleasing, and entertaining those still aboard his ship, which were contented to abide with the company remaining; the pinnaces departed as we determined: the *Minion* to the West, the *Bear* to the East.

The *Minion* about the *Cabeças*, met with a frigate of Nicaragua, in which was some gold, and a Genoese Pilot (of which nation there are many in those coasts), which had been at Veragua not past eight days before. He being very well entreated, certified our Captain of the state of the town, and of the harbour, and of a frigate that was there ready to come forth within few days, aboard which there was above a million of gold, offering to conduct him to it, if we would do him his right: for that he knew the channel very perfectly, so that he could enter by night safely without danger of the sands and shallows, though there be but little water, and utterly undescried; for that the town is five leagues within the harbour, and the way by land is so far about and difficult through the woods, that though we should by any casualty be discovered, about the point of the harbour, yet we might despatch our business and depart, before the town could have notice of our coming.

At his being there, he perceived they had heard of DRAKE's being on the coast, which had put them in great fear, as in all other places (PEZORO purposing to remove himself to the South Sea!): but there was nothing done to prevent him, their fear being so great, that, as it is accustomed in such cases, it excluded counsel and bred despair.

Our Captain, conferring with his own knowledge and former intelligences, was purposed to have returned to his ship, to have taken some of those Cimaroons which had dwelt with Signior PEZORO, to be the more confirmed in this point.

But when the Genoese Pilot was very earnest, to have the time gained, and warranted our Captain of good speed, if we delayed not; he dismissed the frigate, somewhat lighter to hasten her journey! and with this Pilot's advice, laboured with sail and oars to get this harbour and to enter it by night accordingly: considering that this frigate might now

be gained, and PEZORO's house attempted hereafter notwithstanding.

But when we were come to the mouth of the harbour, we heard the report of two Chambers, and farther off about a league within the bay, two other as it were answering them: whereby the Genoese Pilot conjectured that we were discovered: for he assured us, that this order had been taken since his last being there, by reason of the advertisement and charge, which the Governor of Panama had sent to all the Coasts; which even in their beds lay in great and continual fear of our Captain, and therefore by all likelihood, maintained this kind of watch, at the charge of the rich Gnuffe PEZORO for their security.

Thus being defeated of this expectation, we found it was not GOD's will that we should enter at that time: the rather for that the wind, which had all this time been Easterly, came up to the Westward, and invited us to return again to our ship; where, on Sheere Thursday (19th March), we met, according to appointment, with our *Bear*, and found that she had bestowed her time to more profit than we had done.

For she had taken a frigate in which there were ten men (whom they set ashore) great store of maize, twenty-eight fat hogs, and two hundred hens. Our Captain discharged (20th March) this frigate of her lading; and because she was new, strong, and of a good mould, the next day (21st March) he tallowed her to make her a Man-of-war: disposing all our ordnance and provisions that were fit for such use, in her. For we had heard by the Spaniards last taken, that there were two little galleys built in Nombre de Dios, to waft the Chagres Fleet to and fro, but were not yet both launched: wherefore he purposed now to adventure for that Fleet.

And to hearten his company he feasted them that Easter-Day (22nd March) with great cheer and cheerfulness, setting up his rest upon that attempt.

The next day (23rd March) with the new tallowed frigate of Tolou [*not of 20 tons, p. 294; one of the two frigates in which the Expedition returned to England*], and his *Bear*, we set sail towards the Cativaas, where about two days after we landed, and stayed till noon; at what time seeing a sail to the westward, as we deemed making to the island: we set sail and plied towards him, who descrying us, bare with

us, till he perceived by our confidence, that we were no Spaniards, and conjectured we were those Englishmen, of whom he had heard long before. And being in great want, and desirous to be relieved by us: he bare up under our lee, and in token of amity, shot off his lee ordnance, which was not unanswered.

We understood that he was TETÛ, a French Captain of Newhaven [*Havre*] a Man-of-war as we were, desirous to be relieved by us. For at our first meeting, the French Captain cast abroad his hands, and prayed our Captain to help him to some water, for that he had nothing but wine and cider aboard him, which had brought his men into great sickness. He had sought us ever since he first heard of our being upon the coast, about this five weeks. Our Captain sent one aboard him with some relief for the present, willing him to follow us to the next port, where he should have both water and victuals.

At our coming to anchor, he sent our Captain a case of pistols, and a fair gilt scimitar (which had been the late King's of France [HENRY II.], whom Monsieur MONTGOMERY hurt in the eye, and was given him by Monsieur STROZZE). Our Captain requited him with a chain of gold, and a tablet which he wore.

This Captain reported unto us the first news of the Massacre of Paris, at the King of NAVARRE's marriage on Saint Bartholomew's Day last, [24 August, 1572]; of the Admiral of France slain in his chamber, and divers other murders: so that he "thought those Frenchmen the happiest which were farthest from France, now no longer France but Frensy, even as if all Gaul were turned into wormwood and gall: Italian practices having over-mastered the French simplicity." He showed what famous and often reports he had heard of our great riches. He desired to know of our Captain which way he might "compass" his voyage also.

Though we had seen him in some jealousy and distrust, for all his pretence; because we considered more the strength he had than the good-will he might bear us: yet upon consultation among ourselves, "Whether it were fit to receive him or not?" we resolved to take him and twenty of his men, to serve with our Captain for halves. In such sort as we needed not doubt of their forces, being but twenty; nor be hurt by their portions, being no greater than ours: and yet

gratify them in their earnest suit, and serve our own purpose, which without more help we could very hardly have achieved. Indeed, he had 70 men, and we now but 31; his ship was above 80 tons, and our frigate not 20, or pinnace nothing near 10 tons. Yet our Captain thought this proportionable, in consideration that not numbers of men, but quality of their judgements and knowledge, were to be the principal actors herein: and the French ship could do no service, nor stand in any stead to this enterprise which we intended, and had agreed upon before, both touching the time when it should take beginning, and the place where we should meet, namely, at Rio Francisco.

Having thus agreed with Captain TETÛ, we sent for the Cimaroons as before was decreed. Two of them were brought aboard our ships, to give the French assurance of this agreement.

And as soon as we could furnish ourselves and refresh the French company, which was within five or six days (by bringing them to the magazines which were the nearest, where they were supplied by us in such sort, as they protested they were beholding to us for all their lives) taking twenty of the French and fifteen of ours with our Cimaroons, leaving both our ships in safe road, we manned our frigate and two pinnaces (we had formerly sunk our *Lion*, shortly after our return from Panama, because we had not men sufficient to man her), and went towards Rio Francisco: which because it had not water enough for our frigate, caused us to leave her at the Cabeças, manned with English and French, in the charge of ROBERT DOBLE, to stay there without attempting any chase, until the return of our pinnaces.

And then bore to Rio Francisco, where both Captains landed (31st March) with such force as aforesaid [*i.e.*, 20 *French*, 15 *English, and the Cimaroons*], and charged them that had the charge of the pinnaces to be there the fourth day next following without any fail. And thus knowing that the carriages [*mule loads*] went now daily from Panama to Nombre de Dios; we proceeded in covert through the woods, towards the highway that leadeth between them.

It is five leagues accounted by sea, between Rio Francisco and Nombre de Dios; but that way which we march by land,

we found it above seven leagues. We marched as in our former journey to Panama, both for order and silence; to the great wonder of the French Captain and company, who protested they knew not by any means how to recover the pinnaces, if the Cimaroons (to whom what our Captain commanded was a law; though they little regarded the French, as having no trust in them) should leave us: our Captain assured him, "There was no cause of doubt of them, of whom he had had such former trial."

When we were come within an English mile of the way, we stayed all night, refreshing ourselves, in great stillness, in a most convenient place: where we heard the carpenters, being many in number, working upon their ships, as they usually do by reason of the great heat of the day in Nombre de Dios; and might hear the mules coming from Panama, by reason of the advantage of the ground.

The next morning (1st April), upon hearing of that number of bells, the Cimaroons, rejoiced exceedingly, as though there could not have befallen them a more joyful accident, chiefly having been disappointed before. Now they all assured us, "We should have more gold and silver than all of us could bear away": as in truth it fell out.

For there came three *Recuas*, one of 50 mules, the other two, of 70 each, every [one] of which carried 300 lbs. weight of silver; which in all amounted to near thirty tons [*i.e.*, 190 *mules, with* 300 *lbs. each=about* 57,000 *lbs. of silver*].

We putting ourselves in readiness, went down near the way to hear the bells; where we stayed not long, but we saw of what metal they were made; * and took such hold on the heads of the foremost and hindmost mules, that all the rest stayed and lay down, as their manner is.

These three *Recuas* were guarded with forty-five soldiers or thereabouts, fifteen to each *Recua*, which caused some exchange of bullets and arrows for a time; in which conflict the French Captain was sore wounded with hail-shot in the belly, and one Cimaroon was slain: but in the end, these soldiers thought it the best way to leave their mules with us, and to seek for more help abroad.

In which meantime we took some pain to ease some of the

mules which were heaviest loaden of their carriage. And because we ourselves were somewhat weary, we were contented with a few bars and quoits of gold, as we could well carry: burying about fifteen tons of silver, partly in the burrows which the great land crabs had made in the earth, and partly under old trees which were fallen thereabout, and partly in the sand and gravel of a river, not very deep of water.

Thus when about this business, we had spent some two hours, and had disposed of all our matters, and were ready to march back the very self-same way that we came, we heard both horse and foot coming as it seemed to the mules: for they never followed us, after we were once entered the woods, where the French Captain by reason of his wound, not able to travel farther, stayed, in hope that some rest would recover him better strength.

But after we had marched some two leagues, upon the French soldiers' complaint, that they missed one of their men also, examination being made whether he were slain or not: it was found that he had drunk much wine, and overlading himself with pillage, and hasting to go before us, had lost himself in the woods. And as we afterwards knew, he was taken by the Spaniards that evening; and upon torture, discovered unto them where we had hidden our treasure.

We continued our march all that and the next day (2nd and 3rd April) towards Rio Francisco, in hope to meet with our pinnaces; but when we came thither, looking out to sea, we saw seven Spanish pinnaces, which had been searching all the coast thereabouts: whereupon we mightily suspected that they had taken or spoiled our pinnaces, for that our Captain had given so straight charge, that they should repair to this place this afternoon; from the Cabeças where they rode; whence to our sight, these Spaniards' pinnaces did come.

But the night before, there had fallen very much rain, with much westerly wind, which as it enforced the Spaniards to return home the sooner, by reason of the storm: so it kept our pinnaces, that they could not keep the appointment; because the wind was contrary, and blew so strong, that with their oars they could all that day get but half the way. Notwithstanding, if they had followed our Captain's direction in setting forth over night, while the wind served, they had arrived at the place appointed with far less labour, but with

far more danger: because that very day at noon, the shallops manned out, of purpose, from Nombre de Dios, were come to this place to take our pinnaces: imagining where we were, after they had heard of our intercepting of the treasure.

Our Captain seeing the shallops, feared least having taken our pinnaces, they had compelled our men by torture to confess where his frigate and ships were. Therefore in this distress and perplexity, the company misdoubting that all means of return to their country were cut off, and that their treasure then served them to small purpose; our Captain comforted and encouraged us all, saying, "We should venture no farther than he did. It was no time now to fear: but rather to haste[n] to prevent that which was feared! If the enemy have prevailed against our pinnaces, which GOD forbid! yet they must have time to search them, time to examine the mariners, time to execute their resolution after it is determined. Before all these times be taken, we may get to our ships, if ye will! though not possibly by land, because of the hills, thickets, and rivers, yet by water. Let us, therefore, make a raft with the trees that are here in readiness, as offering themselves, being brought down the river, happily this last storm, and put ourselves to sea! I will be one, who will be the other?"

JOHN SMITH offered himself, and two Frenchmen that could swim very well, desired they might accompany our Captain, as did the Cimaroons likewise (who had been very earnest with our Captain to have marched by land, though it were sixteen days' journey, and in case the ship had been surprised, to have abode always with them), especially PEDRO, who yet was fain to be left behind, because he could not row.

The raft was fitted and fast bound; a sail of a biscuit sack prepared; an oar was shaped out of a young tree to serve instead of a rudder, to direct their course before the wind.

At his departure he comforted the company, by promising, that "If it pleased GOD, he should put his foot in safety aboard his frigate, he would, GOD willing, by one means or other get them all aboard, in despite of all the Spaniards in the Indies!"

In this manner pulling off to the sea, he sailed some three leagues, sitting up to the waist continually in water, and at every surge of the wave to the arm-pits, for the space of six

hours, upon this raft: what with the parching of the sun and what with the beating of the salt water, they had all of them their skins much fretted away.

At length GOD gave them the sight of two pinnaces turning towards them with much wind; but with far greater joy to him than could easily conjecture, and did cheerfully declare to those three with him, that "they were our pinnaces! and that all was safe, so that there was no cause of fear!"

But see, the pinnaces not seeing this raft, nor suspecting any such matter, by reason of the wind and night growing on, were forced to run into a cove behind the point, to take succour, for that night: which our Captain seeing, and gathering (because they came not forth again), that they would anchor there, put his raft ashore, and ran by land about the point, where he found them; who, upon sight of him, made as much haste as they could to take him and his company aboard. For our Captain (of purpose to try what haste they could and would make in extremity), himself ran in great haste, and so willed the other three with him; as if they had been chased by the enemy: which they the rather suspected, because they saw so few with him.

And after his coming aboard, when they demanding "How all his company did?" he answered coldly, "Well!" They all doubted [*feared*] that all went scarce well. But he willing to rid all doubts, and fill them with joy, took out of his bosom a quoit of gold, thanking GOD that "our voyage was made!"

And to the Frenchmen he declared, how their Captain indeed was left behind, sore wounded and two of his company with him: but it should be no hindrance to them.

That night (4th April) our Captain with great pain of his company, rowed to Rio Francisco: where he took the rest in, and the treasure which we had brought with us: making such expedition, that by dawning of the day, we set sail back again to our frigate, and from thence directly to our ships: where, as soon as we arrived, our Captain divided by weight, the gold and silver into two even portions, between the French and the English.

About a fortnight after, when we had set all things in

order, and taking out of our ship [*the* Pascha] all such necessaries as we needed for our frigate, had left and given her to the Spaniards, whom we had all this time detained, we put out of that harbour [*at Fort Diego, p.* 253], together with the French ship, riding some few days among the Cabeças.

In the meantime, our Captain made a secret composition with the Cimaroons, that twelve of our men and sixteen of theirs, should make another voyage, to get intelligence in what case the country stood; and if it might be, recover Monsieur TETÛ, the French Captain; at leastwise to bring away that which was hidden in our former surprise, and could not then be conveniently carried.

JOHN OXNAM and THOMAS SHERWELL were put in trust for his service, to the great content of the whole company, who conceived greatest hope of them next our Captain; whom by no means they would condescend to suffer to adventure again, this time: yet he himself rowed to set them ashore at Rio Francisco; finding his labour well employed both otherwise, and also in saving one of those two Frenchmen that had remained willingly to accompany their wounded captain.

For this gentleman, having escaped the rage of the Spaniards, was now coming towards our pinnace, where he fell down on his knees, blessing GOD for the time, "that ever our Captain was born; who now, beyond all his hopes, was become his deliverer."

He being demanded, "What was become of his Captain and other fellow?" shewed that within half an hour after our departure, the Spaniards had overgotten them, and took his Captain and other fellow: he only escaped by flight, having cast away all his carriage, and among the rest one box of jewels, that he might fly the swifter from the pursuers: but his fellow took it up and burdened himself so sore, that he could make no speed; as easily as he might otherwise, if he would have cast down his pillage, and laid aside his covetous mind. As for the silver, which we had hidden thereabout in the earth and the sands, he thought that it was all gone: for that he thought there had been near two thousand Spaniards and Negroes there to dig and search for it.

This report notwithstanding, our purpose held, and our men were sent to the said place, where they found that the

earth, every way a mile distant had been digged and turned up in every place of any likelihood, to have anything hidden in it.

And yet nevertheless, for all that narrow search, all our men's labour was not quite lost, but so considered, that the third day after their departure, they all returned safe and cheerful, with as much silver as they and all the Cimaroons could find (*viz.*, thirteen bars of silver, and some few quoits of gold), with which they were presently embarked, without empeachment, repairing with no less speed than joy to our frigate.

Now was it high time to think of homewards, having sped ourselves as we desired: and therefore our Captain concluded to visit Rio Grande [*Magdelena*] once again, to see if he could meet with any sufficient ship or bark, to carry victuals enough to serve our turn homewards, in which we might in safety and security embark ourselves.

The Frenchmen having formerly gone from us, as soon as they had their shares, at our first return with the treasure; as being very desirous to return home into their country, and our Captain as desirous to dismiss them, as they were to be dismissed: for that he foresaw they could not in their ship avoid the danger of being taken by the Spaniards, if they should make out any Men-of-war for them, while they lingered on the coast; and having also been then again relieved with victuals by us.—Now at our meeting of them again, were very loath to leave us, and therefore accompanied us very kindly as far up as St. Bernards; and farther would, but that they durst not adventure so great danger; for that we had intelligence, that the Fleet was ready to set sail for Spain, riding at the entry of Cartagena.

Thus we departed from them, passing hard by Cartagena, in the sight of all the Fleet, with a flag of St. GEORGE in the main top of our frigate, with silk streamers and ancients down to the water, sailing forward with a large wind, till we came within two leagues of the river [*Magdelena*], being all low land, and dark night: where to prevent the over shooting of the river in the night, we lay off and on bearing small sail, till that about midnight the wind veering to the eastward, by two of the clock in the morning, a frigate from Rio Grande [*Magdelena*] passed hard by us, bearing also but small sail. We saluted them with our shot and arrows,

they answered us with bases; but we got aboard them, and took such order, that they were content against their wills to depart ashore and to leave us this frigate: which was of 25 tons, loaded with maize, hens, and hogs, and some honey, in very good time fit for our use; for the honey especially was notable reliever and preserver of our crazed [*sick*] people.

The next morning as soon as we set those Spaniards ashore on the Main, we set our course for the Cabeças without any stop, whither we came about five days after. And being at anchor, presently we hove out all the maize a land, saving three butts which we kept for our store: and carrying all our provisions ashore, we brought both our frigates on the careen, and new tallowed them.

Here we stayed about seven nights, trimming and rigging our frigates, boarding and stowing our provisions, tearing abroad and burning our pinnaces, that the Cimaroons might have the iron-work.

About a day or two before our departure, our Captain willed PEDRO and three of the chiefest of the Cimaroons to go through both his frigates, to see what they liked; promising to give it them, whatsoever it were, so it were not so necessary as that he could not return into England without it. And for their wives he would himself seek out some silks or linen that might gratify them; which while he was choosing out of his trunks, the scimitar which CAPTAIN TETÛ had given to our Captain, chanced to be taken forth in PEDRO's sight: which he seeing grew so much in liking thereof, that he accounted of nothing else in respect of it, and preferred it before all that could be given him. Yet imagining that it was no less esteemed of our Captain, durst not himself open his mouth to crave or commend it; but made one FRANCIS TUCKER to be his mean to break his mind, promising to give him a fine quoit of gold, which yet he had in store, if he would but move our Captain for it; and to our Captain himself, he would give four other great quoits which he had hidden, intending to have reserved them until another voyage.

Our Captain being accordingly moved by FRANCIS TUCKER, could have been content to have made no such exchange; but yet desirous to content him, that had deserved so well, he gave it him with many good words: who received

it with no little joy, affirming that if he should give his wife and children which he loved dearly in lieu of it, he could not sufficient recompense it (for he would present his king with it, who he knew would make him a great man, even for this very gift's sake); yet in gratuity and stead of other requital of this jewel, he desired our Captain to accept these four pieces of gold, as a token of his thankfulness to him, and a pawn of his faithfulness during life.

Our Captain received it in most kind sort, but took it not to his own benefit, but caused it to be cast into the whole Adventure, saying, "If he had not been set forth to that place, he had not attained such a commodity, and therefore it was just that they which bare part with him of his burden in setting him to sea, should enjoy the proportion of his benefit whatsoever at his return."

Thus with good love and liking we took our leave of that people, setting over to the islands of [?], whence the next day after, we set sail towards Cape St. Antonio; by which we past with a large wind: but presently being to stand for the Havana, we were fain to ply to the windward some three or four days; in which plying we fortuned to take a small bark, in which were two or three hundred hides, and one most necessary thing, which stood us in great stead, viz., a pump! which we set in our frigate.* Their bark because it was nothing fit for our service, our Captain gave them to carry them home.

And so returning to Cape St. Antonio, and landing there, we refreshed ourselves, and beside great store of turtle eggs, found by day in the [sand], we took 250 turtles by night. We powdered [*salted*] and dried some of them, which did us good service. The rest continued but a small time.

There were, at this time, belonging to Cartagena, Nombre de Dios, Rio Grande, Santa Marta, Rio de la Hacha, Venta Cruz, Veragua, Nicaragua, the Honduras, Jamaica, &c., above 200 frigates; some of a 120 tons, others but of 10 or 12 tons, but the most of 30 or 40 tons, which all had

* Apparently DRAKE and his company, now reduced to 31 men out of the original 73 (*p.* 228), failing to find a bark at the Magdelena, came home in two Spanish frigates; one of which was taken by OXENHAM (p. 283). Both the *Swan* (*pp.* 228, 244-6) and the *Pascha* (*pp.* 228, 246, 290) were left behind in the West Indies.

intercourse between Cartagena and Nombre de Dios. The most of which, during our abode in those parts, we took; and some of them, twice or thrice each: yet never burnt nor sunk any, unless they were made out Men-of-war against us, or laid as stales to entrap us.

And of all the men taken in these several vessels, we never offered any kind of violence to any, after they were once come under our power; but either presently dismissed them in safety, or keeping them with us some longer time (as some of them we did), we always provided for their sustenance as for ourselves, and secured them from the rage of the Cimaroons against them: till at last, the danger of their discovering where our ships lay being over past, for which only cause we kept them prisoners, we set them also free.

Many strange birds, beasts, and fishes, besides fruits trees, plants, and the like, were seen and observed of us in this journey, which willingly we pretermit as hastening to the end of our voyage: which from this Cape of St. Antonio, we intended to finish by sailing the directest and speediest way homeward; and accordingly, even beyond our own expectation, most happily performed.

For whereas our Captain had purposed to touch at Newfoundland, and there to have watered; which would have been some let unto us, though we stood in great want of water; yet GOD Almighty so provided for us, by giving us good store of rain water, that we were sufficiently furnished: and, within twenty-three days, we passed from the Cape of Florida, to the Isles of Scilly, and so arrived at Plymouth, on Sunday, about sermon time, August the 9th, 1573.

At what time, the news of our Captain's return brought unto his, did so speedily pass over all the church, and surpass their minds with desire and delight to see him, that very few or none remained with the Preacher. All hastening to see the evidence of GOD's love and blessing towards our Gracious Queen and country, by the fruit of our Captain's labour and success.

Soli DEO Gloria.

FINIS.

NINETEEN YEARS'

CAPTIVITY

IN THE

KINGDOM OF CONDE UDA

IN THE

Highlands of Ceylon,

SUSTAINED BY

CAPTAIN ROBERT KNOX;

BETWEEN

March 1660 & *October* 1679:

Together with his

SINGULAR DELIVERANCE

FROM THAT

STRANGE AND PAGAN LAND.

[From *An Historical Relation &c.*, 1681. fol.]

To the Right Worshipful Sir WILLIAM THOMSON Knight, Governor; THOMAS PAPILLON Esquire, Deputy; and the 24 "Committees" of the Honourable East India Company hereunder specified, viz:—

The Rt. Hon. GEORGE, Earl of BERKLEY.
The Rt. Hon. JAMES, Lord CHANDOS.
Sir MATTHEW ANDREWS Knight.
Sir JOHN BANKS Baronet.
Sir SAMUEL BARNARDISTON Baronet
Mr. CHRISTOPHER BOONE.
JOHN BATHURST Esquire.
Sir JOSIAH CHILD Baronet.
Mr. THOMAS CANHAM.
Colonel JOHN CLERK.
Sir JAMES EDWARDS Knight.
Mr. JOSEPH HERNE.
RICHARD HUTCHINSON Esquire.
JAMES HUBLON Esquire.
Sir JOHN LETHIEULLIER Knight.
Mr. NATHANIEL PETTON.
Sir JOHN MOOR Knight.
SAMUEL MOYER Esquire.
Mr. JOHN MORDEN.
Mr. JOHN PAIGE.
EDWARD RUDGE Esquire.
DANIEL SHELDON Esquire.
Mr. JEREMY SAMBROOK.
ROBERT THOMSON Esquire.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

SINCE my return home to my native country of England, after a long and disconsolate captivity; my friends and acquaintance, in our converse together, have been inquisitive into the state of that land in which I was

captivated: whose curiosity I endeavoured to satisfy. But my relations and accounts of things in those parts were so strange and uncouth, and so different from those in the Western nations; and withal, my discourses seeming so delightful and acceptable unto them: they very frequently called upon me to write what I knew of that island of Ceylon, and to digest it into a discourse, and make it more public. Unto which motion, I was not much unwilling; partly that I might comply with the desires and counsels of my friends; and chiefly, that I might publish and declare the great mercy of GOD to me, and commemorate, before all men, my singular deliverance out of that strange and pagan land: which—as often as I think of, or mention—I cannot but admire, and adore the goodness of GOD towards me; there being in it, so many notable footsteps of His signal providence.

I had then by me several papers, which—during my voyage homewards from Bantam, at leisure times—I wrote concerning the King and the country; and concerning the English there; and of my escape: which papers I forthwith set myself to peruse and draw into a method; and to add what more might occur to my thoughts of these matters. Which, at length, I have finished; contriving what I had to relate, under four heads. The first, concerning the country, and products of it. The second, concerning the King and his government. The third, concerning the inhabitants, and their religion and customs. And the last, concerning our surprise, detainment, and escape. In all which, I take leave to declare that I have written nothing but either what I am assured of by my own personal knowledge to be true, and wherein I have borne a great, and a sad share: or what I have received from the inhabitants themselves, of such things as are commonly known to be true among them.

The book being thus perfected; it required no long meditation unto whom to present it. It could be to none but yourselves, my

honoured Masters, by whose wisdom and success the East Indian parts of the world are now nearly as well known as the countries next adjacent to us. So that by your means, not only the wealth, but the knowledge of those Indies is brought home to us.

Unto your favour and patronage, therefore, Right Worshipful, I humbly presume to recommend these papers and the author of them; who rejoiceth at this opportunity to acknowledge the favours you have already conferred on him; and to profess that—next unto GOD—on you depend his future hopes and expectations. Being

Right Worshipful,

Your most obliged, and most humble
and devoted servant to be commanded,

ROBERT KNOX.

London.
18*th March* 1681.

To the Right Worshipful the Governor, the Deputy Governor, and Four and Twenty "Committees" of the Honourable the East India Company, viz:

Sir JOSIAH CHILD Baronet, Governor.
THOMAS PAPILION Esquire, Deputy.

The Rt. Hon. GEORGE, Earl of BERKLEY.
Sir JOSEPH ASHE Baronet.
Sir SAMUEL BARNARDISTON Baronet.
Mr. CHRISTOPHER BOONE.
Mr. THOMAS CANHAM.
Colonel JOHN CLERKE.
Mr. JOHN CUDWORTH.
JOHN DUBOIS Esquire.
Sir JAMES EDWARDS Knight and Alderman.
RICHARD HUTCHINSON Esquire.

Mr. JOSEPH HERNE.
Mr. WILLIAM HEDGES.
Sir JOHN LAWRENCE Knight and Alderman.
Mr. NATHANIEL LETTON.
Sir JOHN MOORE Knight and Alderman.
SAMUEL MOYER Esquire.
Mr. JOHN MORDEN.
Mr. JOHN PAIGE.
EDWARD RUDGE Esquire.
Mr. JEREMY SAMBROOKE.
Mr. WILLIAM SEDGWICK.
ROBERT THOMSON Esquire.
SAMUEL THOMSON Esquire.
JAMES WARD Esquire.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

WHAT I formerly presented you in writing, having in pursuance of your commands now somewhat dressed by the help of the Graver and the Printer; I a second time humbly tender to you. 'Tis, I confess, at best too mean a return for your great kindness to me. Yet I hope you will not deny it a favourable acceptance; since it is the whole return I made from the Indies after twenty years' stay there: having brought home nothing else but

(who is also wholly at your service and command)

ROBERT KNOX.

London,
1st of August 1681.

Nineteen Years' Captivity

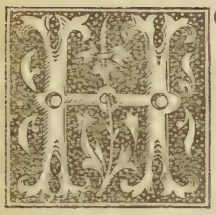
In the Kingdom of Conde Uda.

BY

Captain Robert Knox.

Preliminary Chapter I.

A general description of the Island.



OW THIS island lies with respect unto the neighbouring coasts, I shall not speak at all, that being to be seen in our ordinary sea cards [*charts*] which describe those parts); and but little concerning the maritime parts of it, now under the jurisdiction of the Dutch: my design being to relate such things only that are new and unknown unto these European nations. It is the inland country therefore I chiefly intend to write of: which is yet a hidden land; even to the Dutch themselves that inhabit upon the island. For I have seen among them a fair large map of this place; the best I believe extant, yet very faulty. The ordinary maps in use among us are much more so. I have procured a new one to be drawn with as much truth and exactness as I could: and his judgment will not be deemed altogether inconsiderable, who had for twenty years travelled about the island, and knew almost every step of those parts: especially those that most want describing.

I begin with the sea coasts: of all which the Hollander is master. On the north end; the chief places are Jaffnapatam and the island of Manaar. On the east side, Trincomalee and Batticalloe. To the south, is the city of Point de Galle. On the west, the city of Colombo; so called from a tree, the natives call *ambo* (which bears the mango fruit) growing in that place, which never bare fruit but only leaves, which in their language is *cola*; and hence they

called the tree *Colambo*: which the Christians, in honour of COLUMBUS, turned to Colombo. It is the chief city on the sea coasts, where the Dutch Governor hath his residence. On this west side also are Negombo and Calpentyn. All these already mentioned are strong fortified places. There are besides many other smaller forts and fortifications: all which, with considerable territories; to wit, all round bordering upon the sea coasts, belong to the Dutch nation.

I proceed to the inland country, being that that is now under the King of Kandy. It is convenient that we first understand that this land is divided into greater or lesser shares or parts. The greater divisions give me leave to call Provinces, and the lesser, Counties; as resembling ours in England, though not altogether so big.

On the north parts, lie the Province of Nuwerakalawe, consisting of five lesser divisions or counties: the Province also of Hotkorle, signifying "Seven Counties;" it contains seven counties.

On the eastward, is Matella, containing three counties. There are also lying on that side Tammaukadua, Bintenne, Vellas, Panowa. These are single counties. Oowah also, containing three counties: in this province are two and thirty of the King's captains dwelling, with their soldiers.

In the mid-land, within those already mentioned, lie Wallaponahoy, it signifies "Fifty holes or vales," which describe the nature of it, being nothing but hills and valleys —Poncipot, signifying "Five hundred soldiers"—Goddaponahoy, signifying "Fifty pieces of dry land"—Hevoihattay, signifying "Sixty soldiers"—Kottemalle—Horsepot [? *Harasia Pattoo*], "Four hundred soldiers"—Tunponahoy [? *Tumpane*], "Three fifties"—Oodanowera, it signifies "The Upper City;" where I lived last, and had land—Yattenowera, "The Lower City," in which stands the royal and chief city Kandy.

These two counties I last named, have the pre-eminence of all the rest in the land. They are most populous and fruitful. The inhabitants thereof are the chief and principal men: insomuch that it is a usual saying among them, that "if they want a king, they may take any man of either of these two counties from the plough, and wash the dirt off

him; and he—by reason of his quality and descent—is fit to be a king." And they have this peculiar privilege; that none may be their Governor, but one born in their own country.

These that follow, lie to the westward. Ooddaboolat—Dollosbage—Hotterakorle, containing four counties—Portaloon—Tunkorle, containing three counties—Kottiaar. Which last, together with Batticalloe and a part of Tunkorle; the Hollander took from the king, during my being there.

There are about ten or twelve more unnamed; next bordering on the coast; which are under the Hollander.

All these Provinces and Counties, excepting six—Tammankadua, Vellas, Panowa, Hotterakorle, Hotkorle, and Nuwerakalawe—lie upon hills, fruitful and well watered: and therefore are they called in one word, Conde Uda; which signifies, "On top of the hills;" and the king is styled, the King of Conde Uda.

All these counties are divided, each from other, by great woods; which none may fell, being preserved for fortifications. In most of them are Watches kept constantly; but in troublesome times, in all.

The land is full of hills, but exceedingly well watered; there being many pure and clear rivers running through them: which falling down about their lands is a very great benefit for the country; in respect to their rice, their chief substance. These rivers are generally very rocky, and so unnavigable. In them are great quantities of fish; and the greater, for want of skill in the people to catch them.

The main river of all is called Mahavilla Ganga; which proceeds out of the mountain called Adam's Peak (of which afterwards). It runs through the whole land northward, and falls into the sea at Trincomalee. It may be an arrow's flight over in breadth; but not navigable, by reason of the many rocks and great falls in it. Towards the sea, it is full of alligators; but among the mountains there are none at all. It is so deep that, except it be mighty dry weather, a man cannot wade over it; unless towards the head of it. They use little canoes to pass over it: but there are no bridges built over it, it being so broad, and the stream in the time of rains—which in this country are very great—runs so high; that they cannot make them; neither if they could,

would it be permitted. For the King careth not to make his country easy to travel in; but desires to keep it intricate. This river runs within a mile or less of the city of Kandy. In some places of it, it is full of rocks; in others, clear for three or four miles.

There is another large river [*Kottemalle Oya*] running through Kottemalle; and falls into that before mentioned. There are divers other brave rivers that water the country; though none navigable, for the cause above said.

The land is generally covered with woods; excepting the kingdom of Oowah, and the counties of Ooddaboolat and Dollosbage, which are, naturally, somewhat clear of them.

It is most populous about the middle; least near about by the sea. How it is with those parts under the Hollander, I know not. The northern parts are somewhat sickly by reason of bad water. The rest are very healthful.

The valleys between their hills are, many of them, quagmires: and most of them full of brave springs of pure water: which watery valleys are the best sort of land for their corn, as requiring much moisture.

On the south side of Conde Uda is a hill, supposed to be highest on the island, called in the Cingalese language Hamalell; but by the Portuguese and the European nations, Adam's Peak. It is sharp like a sugar loaf; and has on the top a flat stone with the print of a foot, like a man's but far bigger, being about two feet long. The people of the land count it meritorious to go and worship this impression: and generally about their new year, which is in March; they—men, women, and children—go up this vast and high mountain to worship.

Out of this mountain arise many fine rivers, which run through the land; some to the westward, some to the southward, and the main river—the Mahavilla Ganga before mentioned—to the northward.

This kingdom of Conde Uda is strongly fortified by nature. For which way soever you enter into it; you must ascend vast and high mountains, and descend little or nothing. The ways are many; but very narrow, so that but one can go abreast. The hills are covered with woods and great rocks, so that it is scarcely possible to get up anywhere, but only in the paths. In all of which, there are Gates made of thorns—the one at the bottom, the other at the top of the

hills—and two or three men always set to watch: who are to examine all that come and go, and see what they carry; that letters may not be conveyed, nor prisoners or other slaves run away. These Watches, in case of opposition, are to call out to the towns near; who are to assist them. They oftentimes have no arms, for they are people of the next towns: but their weapons to stop people, are to charge them in the King's name; which being disobeyed, is so severely punished, that none dare resist. These Watches are but as sentinels to give notice; for in case of war and danger, the King sends commanders and soldiers to lie here.

The one part of this island differs very much from the other, both in respect of the seasons and the soil. For when the westwardly winds [*the S.-W. monsoon*] blow, then it rains on the west side of the island; and that is the season for them to till their grounds: and at the same time, on the east side is very fair and dry weather, and the time of their harvest. On the contrary, when the east winds [*the N.-E. monsoon*] blow, it is tilling time for those that inhabit the east parts, and harvest to those on the west. So harvest is there, in one part or other, all the year long. These rains and this dry weather do part themselves about the middle of the land; as oftentimes I have seen: there being on the one side of a mountain called Cauragas Hing, rainy and wet weather: and as soon as I came on the other side, dry and so exceeding hot, that I could scarcely walk on the ground; being—as the manner there is—barefooted.

It rains far more in the high lands of Conde Uda, than in the low lands beneath the hills. The north end of this island is much subject to dry weather. I have known it, for five or six years together, so dry, having no rain—and there is no other means of water but that; there being but three springs of running water there, that I know or ever heard of—that they could not plough nor sow, and scarcely could dig wells deep enough to get water to drink; and when they got it, its taste was brackish. At which time, in other parts, there wanted not rain: whither the northern people were forced to come and buy food.

Let thus much suffice to have spoken of the countries, soil, and nature of this island in general. I will proceed to speak of the cities and towns in it; together with some other remarkable matters thereunto belonging.

PRELIMINARY CHAPTER II.

Concerning the chief cities and towns of this Island.

IN THIS island are several places where, they say formerly stood cities, and which still retain the name; though little or nothing of building be now to be seen: but there are five cities now standing, which are the most eminent, and where the King hath palaces and goods; yet even these—all of them, except that wherein his person is,—are ruined and fallen to decay.

The first is the city of Kandy—so generally called by the Christians, probably from Conde, which in the Cingalese language signifies "hills," for among them it is situated—but by the inhabitants called Hingodagul-newera, as much as to say, "The City of the Cingalese people;" and Mauneur, signifying "The chief or royal city." This is the chief or metropolitical city of the whole island. It is placed in the midst of the island, in the Province of Yattenowera; bravely situated for all conveniences, excellently well watered. The King's palace stands on the east corner of the city, as is customary in this land for the King's palaces to stand. This city is three square, like a triangle, but has no artificial strength about it: unless on the south side, which is the easiest and openest way to it, where they have long since cast up a bank of earth across the valley from one hill to another; which nevertheless is not so steep but that a man may easily go over it anywhere. It may be some twenty feet in height. In every way to come to this city, about two or three miles off from it, are Thorn Gates and Watches to examine all that go and come. It is environed around with hills. The great river [*the Mahavilla Ganga*] coming down from Adam's Peak, runs within less than a mile of it, on the west side.

It has oftentimes been burnt by the Portuguese in their former invasions of this island; together with the King's palace and the temples. Insomuch that the King has been fain to pay them a tribute of three elephants *per annum*. The King left this city, about twenty years ago [i.e. *about* 1660], and never since has come to it. So that it is now quite gone to decay.

A second city is Nellembe Newera, lying in Ooddaboollat, south of Kandy, some twelve miles distant. Unto this, the King retired and here kept his Court, when he forsook Kandy.

Thirdly. The city Alloot Newera, on the north-east of Kandy. Here this King was born. Here also he keeps a great store of corn and salt, &c., against time of war or trouble. This is situated in the country of Bintenne; which land I have never been at, but have taken a view of it from the top of a mountain. It seems to be a smooth land, and not much hilly. The great river [*the Mahavilla Ganga*] runneth through the midst of it. It is all over covered with mighty woods and abundance of deer: but much subject to dry weather and sickness. In these woods are a sort of wild people [*The Veddahs, supposed to be the original race inhabiting Ceylon*] inhabiting.

Fourthly, Badoolla, eastward from Kandy, some two days' journey: the second city in this land. The Portuguese, in time of war, burnt it down to the ground. The palace here is quite ruined: the pagodas only remain in good repair.

This city stands in the kingdom or province of Oowah, which is a country well watered; the land not smooth, neither the hills very high. Wood very scarce, but what they plant about their houses: but great plenty of cattle; their land, void of wood, being the more apt for grazing. If these cattle be carried to any other parts in this island, they will commonly die. The reason whereof no man can tell. Only they conjecture it is occasioned by a kind of small tree or shrub that grows in all countries but in Oowah, the touch or scent of which may be poison to the Oowah cattle, though it is not so to other. The tree hath a pretty physical smell like an apothecary's shop; but no sort of cattle will eat it. In this country grows the best tobacco that is on the land. Rice is more in plenty here than most other things.

The fifth city is Digligy Newera, towards the east of Kandy, lying in the country of Hevahatt: where the King—ever since he was routed from Nellembe, in the rebellion, *Anno* 1664—hath held his Court. The situation of this place is very rocky and mountainous, the land is barren: so that hardly a worse place could be found out in the whole island. Yet the King chose it, partly because it lies about the middle of his kingdom, but chiefly for his safety: having the great

mountain Gauluda behind his palace, unto which he fled for safety in the rebellion—being not only high, but on the top of it lie three towns, and corn fields, whence he may have necessary supplies. And it is so fenced with steep cliffs, rocks, and woods; that a few men here will be able to defend themselves against a great army.

There are, besides these already mentioned, several other ruinous places that do still retain the name of cities; where kings have reigned, though now there are little footsteps remaining of them.

At the north end of this King's dominions is one of these ruinous cities, called Anuradhapoora, where they say ninety kings have reigned; the spirits of whom they hold now to be saints in glory, having merited it by making pagodas, and stone pillars and images to the honour of their gods: whereof there are many yet remaining, which the Cingalese count very meritorious to worship, and the next way to heaven. Near by is a river by which we came, when we made our escape: all along which there is an abundance of hewn stones; some long for pillars, some broad for paving. Over this river, there have been three stone bridges, built upon stone pillars; but now are fallen down; and the country is all desolate, without inhabitants.

At this city of Anuradhapoora is a Watch kept; beyond which are no more people that yield obedience to the King of Kandy. This place is above ninety miles to the northward of the city of Kandy. In these northern parts there are no hills, nor but two or three springs of running water; so that their corn ripeneth with the help of rain.

There is a port in the country of Portaloon, on the west side of this island, whence part of the King's country is supplied with salt and fish: where they have some small trade with the Dutch; who have a fort on the point to prevent boats from coming. But the eastern parts being too far and too hilly, to drive cattle thither for salt; GOD's providence hath provided them a place on the east side, nearer to them, which in their language they called Leawava: where, the eastwardly winds blowing, the sea beats in; and in westerly winds—being then fair weather there—it becomes salt; and that in such abundance, that they have as much as they please to fetch.

This place of Leawava is so contrived by the Providence of the Almighty Creator, that neither the Portuguese nor Dutch, in all the time of their wars, could ever prevent this people from having the benefit of this salt: which is the principal thing that they esteem in time of trouble or war; and most of them do keep by them, a store of salt against such times. It is, as I have heard, environed with hills on the land side, and by sea not convenient for ships to ride: and very sickly—which they do impute to the power of a great god, who dwelleth near by in a town called Cotteragom, standing in the road; to whom all that go to fetch salt, both small and great, must give an offering. The name and power of this god striketh such terror into the Cingalese, that those who otherwise are enemies to this King, and have served both Portuguese and Dutch against him; yet, would never assist to make invasions this way.

Having said thus much concerning the cities and other eminent places of this kingdom; I will now add a little concerning their towns. The best are those that do belong to their idols, wherein stand their *Dewals* or temples. They do not care to make streets by building their houses together in rows, but each man lives by himself in his own plantation; having a hedge, it may be, and a ditch round about him to keep out cattle. Their towns are always placed some distance from the highways: for they care not that their towns should be a thoroughfare for all people; but only for those that have business with them. The towns are not very big: in some may be forty, and in some fifty houses; and in some, above an hundred: and in some again, not above eight or ten.

As I said before of their cities, so I must of their towns; that there are many of them here and there lying desolate: occasioned by their voluntarily forsaking them; which they often do, in case many of them fall sick, and two or three die soon after one another. For this, they conclude to happen from the hand of the devil; whereupon, they all leave their town, and go to another, thinking thereby to avoid him: thus relinquishing both their houses and lands too. Yet afterwards, when they think the devil hath departed the place: some will sometimes come back, and reassume their lands again.

PRELIMINARY CHAPTER III.

General character of the Cingalese, with some of their proverbs.

HERE are iron and crystal in great plenty. Saltpetre they can make. Brimstone, some say, is here; but the King will not have it discovered. Steel they can make of their iron. Ebony is in great abundance, with choice of tall and large timber. Cardamoms, jaggory, arrack, oil, black-lead, turmeric, salt, rice, betel nuts, musk, wax, pepper—which grows here very well, and might be had in great plenty, if it had any vent [*sale*]—and the peculiar commodity of the island, cinnamon. Wild cattle also, and wild honey in great plenty in the woods: it lies in holes or hollow trees, free for any that will take the pains to get it. Elephants' teeth. Cotton, of which there is good plenty, growing in their own grounds: sufficient to make them good and strong cloth for their own use, and also to sell to the people of the uplands, where cotton is not so plentiful.

All these things the land affords, and might do it in much greater quantity; if the people were but laborious and industrious. But that, they are not. For the Cingalese are naturally a people given to sloth and laziness. If they can but any ways live, they abhor to work. Only what their necessities force them to do, they do: that is, to get food and raiment.

Yet in this I must a little vindicate them. For what indeed should they do with more than food and raiment; seeing that, as their estates increase, so do their taxes also? And although the people be generally covetous, spending but little, scraping together what they can: yet such is the government they are under; that they are afraid to be known to have anything, lest it be taken away from them. Neither have they any encouragement for their industry, having no vent by traffic and commerce for what they have got.

"I have given pepper, and got ginger." Spoken when a

man makes a bad exchange: and they use it in reference to the Dutch succeeding the Portuguese in their island.

"Pick your teeth, to fill your belly." Spoken of stingy niggardly people.

"To eat before you go forth, is handsome and convenient." Which they therefore ever do.

"As the saying is, If I come to beg buttermilk, why should I hide my pan." Which is ordinarily spoken to introduce the business that one man comes to speak to another about.

"A beggar and a trader cannot be lost." Because they are never out of their way.

"To lend to another, makes him become an enemy." For he will hate you, if you ask him for it again.

"Go not with a slave in one boat." It signifies to have no dealing nor correspondence with any one's slave: for if any damage should happen, it would fall upon your head; and, by their law, you must make it good.

"First look into the hand, afterwards open the mouth." Spoken of a judge; who first must have a bribe, before he will pronounce on their side.

"Take a ploughman from the plough, and wash off his dirt: and he is fit to rule a kingdom." Spoken of the people of Conde Uda, where there are such eminent persons of the "Hondrew" rank: and because of the civility, understanding, and gravity of the poorest men among them.

"Nobody can reproach the King and the beggar." Because the former is above the slander of the people, and nothing can be said bad enough of the latter.

"Like Noya and Polonga." Denoting irreconcilable enemies.

If the Polonga and the Noya meet together, they cease not fighting till one hath killed the other.

The reason and original of this fatal enmity is this; according to a fable among the Cingalese.

These two chanced to meet in a dry season, when water was scarce. The Polonga being almost famished for thirst; asked the Noya, where he might go to find a little water. The Noya, a little before, had met with a bowl of water in which a child lay playing: as it is usual among this people, to wash their children in a bowl of water, and there leave

them, to tumble and play in it. Here the Noya had quenched his thirst, but, as he was drinking, the child that lay in the bowl, out of his innocency and play, hit him on the head, with his hand; which the Noya made no matter of, but bare patiently, knowing it was not done out of any malice, and having drunk as much as sufficed him, went away, without doing the child any harm.

Being minded to direct the Polonga to this bowl, but desirous withal to preserve the child: he told him, "That he knew of water; but he was such a surly hasty creature, that he was fearful to let him know where it was, lest he might do some mischief." Making him therefore promise that he would not: he then told him, that at such a place there was a bowl of water with a child playing in it; and that probably the child might, as he was tumbling, give him a pat on the head—as he had done to him before—but charged him nevertheless, not to hurt the child. Which the Polonga having promised; went his way towards the water, as the Noya had directed him.

The Noya, knowing his touchy disposition, went after him: fearing that he might do the child a mischief; and that thereby he himself might be deprived of the like benefit afterwards. It fell out as he feared. For as the Polonga drank, the child patted him on the head: and he, in his hasty humour, bit him on the hand, and killed him. The Noya seeing this, was resolved to be revenged: and so, reproaching him for his baseness, fought him so long till he killed him; and after that, devoured him. Which to this day they ever do; and always fight, when they meet: and the conqueror eats the body of the vanquished. Hence the proverb.

"He that hath money to give to his judge, needs not fear; be his cause right or wrong." Because of the corruption of the great men, and their greediness for bribes.

"If our fortune [*gerehah*] be bad, what can god do against it?" Reckoning that none of their gods have power to reverse the fate of an ill planet.

"The ague is nothing, but the headache is all." That country is very subject to agues, which do especially afflict the heads of those who have them.

They have certain words of form and civility that they use

upon occasion. When they come to another man's house; he asks them "What they come for?" which is his civility. And they answer, "I come for nothing;" which is their ordinary reply; though they do come for something.

And upon this they have a fable. A god came down upon earth one day, and bade all his creatures come before him; and demanded, "What they would have, and it should be granted them." So all the beasts and other creatures came: and one desired strength, another legs, and another wings, &c.; and it was bestowed on them. Then came the white men. The god asked them, "What they came for?" And they said, "They desired Beauty, Valour, and Riches." It was granted them. At last, came the Cingalese. The god required of them "What they came for?" They answered, "I come for nothing." Then replied he again, "Do you come for nothing: then go away with nothing!" And so they for their compliment, fared worse than all the rest.

I might multiply many more of their proverbial sayings: but let these suffice.

The worst words they use to whites and Christians, is to call them "Beef-eating slaves."

When they travel together, a great many of them, the roads are so narrow that but one can go abreast. And if there be twenty of them, there is but one argument or matter discoursed among them all from the first to the last. And so they go talking along, all together: and every one carrieth his provisions on his back, for his whole journey.

In short. In carriage and behaviour, they are very grave and stately, like unto Portuguese; in understanding, quick and apprehensive; in design, subtle and crafty; in discourse, courteous but full of flatteries; naturally inclined to temperance both in meat and drink, but not to chastity; near and provident in their families, commending good husbandry. In their dispositions, not passionate; neither hard to be reconciled again when angry. In their promises, very unfaithful; approving lying in themselves, but misliking it in others: delighting in sloth, deferring labour till urgent necessity constrain them. Neat in apparel, nice in eating, and not given to much sleep.

PRELIMINARY CHAPTER IV.

The Thorn Gates.

THERE are constant Watches set in convenient places in all parts of the country, and Thorn Gates: but in time of danger, besides the ordinary Watches in all towns, they are in all places and at every cross road, exceedingly thick: so that it is not possible for any to pass unobserved.

These Thorn Gates which I here mention, and have done before, are made of a sort of thorn bush or thorn tree; each stick or branch whereof thrusts out on all sides round about, sharp prickles like iron nails, of three or four inches long. One of these very thorns, I have lately seen in the Repository at Gresham College. These sticks or branches being as big as a good cane, are plaited one very close to another, and so being fastened or tied to three or four upright spars, are made in the fashion of a door.

This is hung upon a door case some ten or twelve feet high (so that they may, and do ride through upon elephants) made of three pieces of timber like a gallows, after this manner ∏: the thorn door hanging upon the transverse piece like a shop window. So they lift it up or clap it down; as there is occasion: and tie it with rope to a cross bar.

But especially in all roads and passes from the city [*Digligy*] where the King now inhabits, are very strict Watches set: which will suffer none to pass, not having a passport; which is the print of a seal in clay.

It is given at the Court to them that have license to go through the Watches. The seals are different, according to the profession of the party. As to a soldier, the print of a man with a pike on his shoulder; or, to a labourer, of a man with two bags hanging at each end of a pole upon his shoulder; which is the manner they commonly carry their loads: and to a white man, the passport is the print of a man with a sword by his side and his hat on his head. And as many men as there are in the company; so many prints there must be in the clay.

There is not half the examination for those that come into the city, as for those that go out; whom they usually search to see what they carry with them.

Nineteen Years' Captivity

In the Kingdom of Conde Uda.

BY

Captain Robert Knox.

Chapter I.

Of the reason of our going to Ceylon, and detainment there.

IN THIS fourth and last part, I purpose to speak concerning our captivity in this island; and during which, in what condition the English have lived there; and the eminent providence of GOD in my escape thence: together with other matters relating to the Dutch and other European nations that dwell, and are kept there. All which will afford so much variety and new matter, that I doubt not but the readers will be entertained with as much delight in perusing these things, as in any else that have been already related.

I begin with the unhappy occasion of our going to this country.

Anno 1657, the *Anne* frigate of London, Captain ROBERT KNOX Commander, on the 21st day of January; set sail out of the Downs in the service of the Honourable the English East India Company, bound for Fort St. George [*Madras*] on the coast of Coromandel, to trade one year from port to port in India. Which we having performed, as we were lading goods to return for England, being on the road

of Malipatam, on the 19th of November, 1659, there happened such a mighty storm, that in it several ships were cast away: and we were forced to cut our mainmast by the board; which so disabled the ship that she could not proceed in her voyage. Whereupon Kottiaar in the island of Ceylon, being a very commodious bay, fit for our present distress; THOMAS CHAMBERS, Esq., since Sir THOMAS CHAMBERS, the Agent at Fort St. George, ordered that the ship should take in some cloth, and go to Kottiaar Bay [i.e. *the Bay of Trincomalee*], there to trade; while she lay, to set her mast. Where being arrived, according to the appointment of those Indian merchants of Porto Nova we carried with us, they were put ashore; and we minded our business to set another mainmast, and repair our other damages that we had sustained by the late storm.

At our first coming hither, we were shy and jealous of the people of the place; by reason our nation never had any commerce or dealing with them. But now having been there some twenty days, and going ashore and coming on board at our pleasure, without any molestation; the Governor of the place also telling us that we were welcome, as we seemed to ourselves to be: we began to lay aside all suspicious thoughts of the people dwelling thereabouts, who had very kindly entertained us for our money with such provisions and refreshings as those parts afforded.

By this time, the King of the country had notice of our being there, and, as I suppose, grew suspicious of us; not having all that while by any message, made him acquainted with our intent and purpose in coming. Thereupon he despatched down a *Dissauva* or general with his army to us. Who immediately sent a messenger on board to acquaint the Captain with his coming and desired him to come ashore to him; pretending to have a letter to him from the King. We saluted the message with the firing of guns, and my father the Captain, ordered me with Master JOHN LOVELAND, merchant [*supercargo*] of the ship, to go on shore and wait upon him.

When we were come before him; he demanded "Who we were?" and "How long we should stay?" We told him, "We were English," and "Not to stay above twenty or thirty days:" and desired permission to trade in his Majesty's port. His answer was, "The King was glad to hear that the

English were come to his country, and had commanded him to assist us as we should desire; and had sent a letter to be delivered to none but to the Captain himself."

We were then some twelve miles from the seaside. Our reply was, "That the Captain could not leave his ship to come so far; but if he pleased to come down to the seaside himself, the Captain would immediately wait upon him to receive the letter." Upon which, the Dissauva desired us to stay that day; and on the morrow, he would go down with us: which being a small request; we, unwilling to displease him, consented to.

The same day at evening, the Dissauva sent two of his chief captains to the house where we lay, to tell us "That he was sending a present to the Captain, and if we pleased we might send a letter to him: that he would send the present in the night; and himself, with us, follow the next morning." At which, we began to suspect, and accordingly concluded to write and advise the Captain not to adventure himself nor any other on shore, till he saw us. We having written a letter to this purpose, they took it and went away; but never delivered it.

The next morning, the present (which was cattle, fruit, &c.) was brought to the seaside and delivered to the Captain; the messengers telling him withal, that we were upon the way coming down with the Dissauva, who desired his company on shore, against his coming; having a letter from the King to deliver into his own hand. Hereupon the Captain mistrusting nothing, came up with his boat into a small river; and being come ashore, sat down under a tamarind tree,* waiting for the Dissauva and us. In which time, the native soldiers privately surrounded him and his men having no arms with them: and so he was seized on, and seven men with him; yet without any violence or plundering them of

*Sir JAMES EMERSON TENNENT, K.C.G., in a tour through the northern forests of Ceylon in February 1848, thus—

"At Cottiar, . . . we halted by the identical tamarind tree, under which, two centuries before, Captain ROBERT KNOX—the gentlest of historians, and the meekest of captives—was betrayed by the Kandyans; and thence carried into their hills: to be detained an inoffensive prisoner, from boyhood to grey hairs. But to that captivity, we are indebted for the most faithful and life-like portraiture that was ever drawn of a semi-civilised, but remarkable people." —*Ceylon*. ii. 478. *Ed.* 1859.

anything. And then they brought them up unto us, carrying the Captain in a hammock upon their shoulders.

The next day after, the long boat's crew not knowing what had happened, came ashore to cut a tree to make cheeks for the mainmast; and were made prisoners after the same manner, though with more violence. For they being rough and making resistance, were bound with withes; and so were led away till they came where the people got ropes. Which when our men saw brought to them, they were not a little affrighted; for being already bound, they concluded there could be no other use for those ropes but to hang them. But the true use of them was to bind them faster, fearing lest the withes might break; and so they were brought up farther into the country; but afterwards being become more tame, they were loosed. They would not adventure to bring them to us, but quartered them in another house, though in the same town: where without leave, we could not see one another. The house where they kept the Captain and us, was all hanged with white calico; which is the greatest honour they can show to any: but the house wherein the other men were, that were brought up after us, was not. They gave us also as good entertainment as the country afforded.

Having thus taken both our boats and eighteen men of us; their next care was, fearing lest the ship should be gone, to secure her. Therefore to bring this about, the Dissauva told the Captain that the reason of this their detainment was that the King intended to send letters and a present to the English nation by him; and therefore that the ship must not go away till the King was ready to send his messenger and message: and thereupon desired the Captain to send on board to order her stay, and—it being not safe for her to ride in the bay, lest the Dutch might come and fire her—that he should take order for her bringing up into the river. Which advice of his, the Captain approved not of; but concealing his dislike to it, replied "that unless he could send two of his own men on board with his letter and order, those in the ship would not obey him, but speedily would be gone with the ship." Which he, rather than he would run the hazard of the ship's departing, granted: imagining that the Captain would order the ship to be brought up into the river, as he had advised; though the Captain intended to make another use of this message.

Upon which, the Captain sent two of his men, some Indians accompanying them, in a canoe to the ship; the Captain ordering them, when they were aboard not to abuse the Indians, but to entertain them very kindly: and afterwards that, setting them ashore, they should keep the canoe to themselves, instead of our two boats which they had gotten from us; and to secure the ship, and wait till further orders.

These two men stayed on board, and came not back again. This, together with the ship's not coming up, displeased the Dissauva; and he demanded of the Captain the reason thereof. His answer was, "That being detained on shore, the men on board would not obey his command."

Upon this, some days after, the Dissauva bid the Captain send his son with orders to those aboard that the ship might be brought into the river; but provided that he would be security for my return: which he promised he would. His order to me was, "to see the top chains put upon the cables, and the guns shotted [*loaded*]; and to tell Master JOHN BURFORD Chief Mate, and all the rest, as they valued their lives and liberties, to keep a watch; and not to suffer any boat to come near, after it was dark: and charged me upon his blessing, and as I should answer it at the Great Day, not to leave him in this condition; but to return to him again." Upon which I solemnly vowed, according to my duty, to be his obedient son.

So, having seen all done according to his appointment, I wrote a letter in the name of the company to clear my father and myself, to this effect, "That they would not obey the Captain, nor any other in this matter; but were resolved to stand upon their own defence." To which they all set their hands. Which done, according to my promise and duty, I returned again; and delivered the letter to the Dissauva, who was thereby answered: and afterwards urged the Captain no more in that matter, but gave him leave at his pleasure to write for what he pleased to have brought to him from the ship; still pretending the King's order to release us was not yet, but would suddenly come.

And so we remained expecting it, about two months; being entertained, as formerly, with the best diet and accommodation of the country.

Having continued thus long in suspense, and the time and the year spending [*passing away*] for the ship to proceed on her voyage to some other place; and our condition being, as we feared and afterwards found to be, the beginning of a sad captivity: the Captain sent orders to Master JOHN BURFORD to take the charge of the ship upon him, and to set sail for Porto Nova, whence we came; and there to follow the [Madras] Agent's order.

If any inquire what became of the cloth of our lading, which we brought thither; they only took an account to see what it was, and so left it where and as it was before: and there it remained until both house and goods rotted away, as the people of the same town informed me afterwards.

I impute the main reason of our surprise to our neglect, viz., in not sending a letter and present to the King at our first coming: who looking upon himself as a great monarch, as he is indeed, requires to be treated with suitable state.

Thus were sixteen of us left to the mercy of those barbarians: the names of which are as follows. The Captain, Master JOHN LOVELAND, JOHN GREGORY, CHARLES BEARD, ROGER GOLD, STEPHEN RUTLAND, NICHOLAS MULLINS, FRANCIS CRUTCH, JOHN BERRY, RALPH KNIGHT, PETER WINN, WILLIAM HUBBARD, ANTONY EMERY, RICHARD VARNHAM, GEORGE SMITH, and myself. Though our hearts were very heavy, seeing ourselves betrayed into so sad a condition, to be forced to dwell among those that knew not GOD nor His laws: yet so great was the mercy of our gracious GOD, that He gave us favour in the sight of this people: insomuch that we lived far better than we could have expected, being prisoners or rather captives in the hands of the heathen; from whom we could have looked for nothing but very severe usage.

The ship being gone, the King sent to call the Dissauva speedily to him; who, upon this order, immediately marched away with his army; leaving us where we were. But concerning us, there was no order at all.

CHAPTER II.

How we were carried up into the country, and disposed of there: and of the sickness, sorrow and death of the Captain.

HE Dissauva with his men, being gone; the people of the town were appointed to guard and secure us until further orders. But they carried us some six miles higher into the country; and would not yet adventure to bring the long boat's crew unto us, but kept them by themselves in another town: fearing lest we might make an escape; as certainly we would have attempted it, had they not removed us.

There was a small Moor's vessel, which lay in the river; which they had seized on about this time, as we supposed they would have done by our ship, if they could have caught her there. This vessel had some forty men belonging to her; who were not made prisoners as we were, but yet lay in the same town. With those, we had concluded that they should furnish us with arms: and, in the night, all together to march down and get on board their vessel; and so make our escape. But being prevented in this design by our departure, we were fain to lie at their mercy.

In our new quarters, our entertainment proved as good as formerly: and indeed there was this to mitigate our misery; that the people were courteous to us, and seemed to pity us. For there is a great difference between the people inhabiting the high lands or mountains of Kandy, and those of the low lands where we now were placed; who are of a kinder nature by far, than the other. For these countries beneath the mountains formerly were in subjection to the Portuguese; whereby they have been exercised and acquainted with the customs and manners of Christian people: which pleasing them far better than their own, have begot and bred in them a kind of love and affection towards strangers; being apt to show pity and compassion on them in their distress. And

you shall hear them oftentimes upbraiding the highlanders for their insolent and rude behaviour.

It was a very sad condition whilst we were all together; yet hitherto each other's company lessened our sufferings, and was some comfort, that we might condole one another. But now it came to pass that we must be separated and placed asunder, one in a village; where we could have none to confer withal or look upon, but the horrible black faces of our heathen enemies, and not understand one word of their language neither. This was a great addition to our grief. Yet GOD was so merciful to us, as not to suffer them to part my father and I.

For it was some sixteen days after our last remove, the King was pleased to send a captain with soldiers to bring us up into the country; who brought us and the other men taken in the long boat together: which was a heavy meeting; being then, as we well saw, to be carried captives into the mountains. That night we supped together; and the next morning changed our condition into real captivity. Howbeit they gave us many comfortable promises, which we believed not; as "That the King's intent was not to keep us any longer than till another ship came to carry us away." Although we had but very little to carry, GOD knows; yet they appointed men to carry the clothes that belonged to the Captain and Officers. We still expected they would plunder us of our clothes, having nothing else to be plundered of: but the Cingalese captain told us, that the King had given order that none should take the value of a thread from us; which indeed they did not.

As they brought us up, they were very tender of us; as not to tire us with travelling, bidding us go no faster than we would ourselves. This kindness did somewhat comfort us. The way was plain and easy to travel, through great woods, so that we walked as in an arbour; but desolate of inhabitants: so that for four or five nights we lay on the ground, with boughs of trees only over our heads. And of victuals, twice a day they gave us as much as we could eat; that is, of rice, salt fish, dried flesh: and sometimes they would shoot deer, and find honey in the trees; a good part of which they always brought unto us. And drink we could not want; there being rivers and puddles full of water, as we travelled along.

But when we came out of the woods amongst inhabitants, and were led into their towns; they brought us victuals ready dressed after their fashion, viz.: rice boiled in water, and three other sorts of food, whereof one was flesh and the other two herbs or such like things that grow in their country; and all kinds of ripe fruit: which we liked very well and fed heartily upon. Our entertainment all along was at the charge of the country, so we fed like soldiers upon free quarters. Yet I think we gave them good content for all the charge we put them to; which was to have the satisfaction of seeing us eat, sitting on mats upon the ground in their yards to the public view of all beholders: who greatly admired us; having never seen, nor scarce heard of Englishmen before. It was also great entertainment to them to observe our manner of eating with spoons, which some of us had; and that we could not take the rice up in our hands and put it to our mouths without spilling, as they do; nor gaped and poured the water into our mouths out of pots, according to their country's fashion. Thus at every town where we came; they used both young and old in great companies, to stare upon us.

Being thus brought up altogether somewhat near to the city of Kandy; now came an order from the King to separate us, and to place us one in a town. Which then seemed to us to be very hard; but it was for the convenience of getting food, being quartered upon the country at their charge.

The Captain, Master JOHN LOVELAND, myself and JOHN GREGORY were parted from the rest, and brought nearer to the city; to be ready when the King should send for us: all the rest were placed one in a town, according to the aforesaid order. Special command also was given from the King that we all should be well entertained; and according to the country's fare, we had no cause to complain. We four were thus kept together some two months, faring well all the while.

But the King minding us not, order came from the great men in court to place us in towns, as the rest were; only my father and I were still permitted to be together: and a great charge given to use us well. And indeed twice a day, we had brought unto us as good fare as the country afforded. All the rest had not their provisions brought to them, as we

had; but went to eat from house to house, each house taking its turn.

On the 16th of September 1660, my father and I were placed in a town called Bonder Coswat. The situation was very pleasing and commodious, lying about thirty miles to the northward of the city of Kandy, in the country called Hotkorle [? *Hewarrisse Korle*], and distant from the rest of our people a full day's journey. We were removed hither from another town nearer to the city of Kandy, where the nobles at Court supposing that the King would call for us, had placed us to have us ready.

Being thus brought to Bonder Coswat; the people put it to our choice, which house we would have to reside in. The country being hot, and their houses dark and dirty; my father chose an open house; having only a roof, but no walls: wherein they placed a cot or bedstead with a mat only upon it for him, which in their account is an extraordinary lodging; and for me, a mat on the ground.

Money at that time was very low with us. For although we wanted not for opportunity to send for what we would have brought unto us from the ship; yet fearing we should be plundered of it, we sent not for anything save a pillow for my father. For we held it a point without dispute, that they that made prisoners of our bodies would not spare to take our goods: my father also alleging that he had rather his children at home should enjoy them.

But to make amends for that; we had our provisions brought us without money, and that twice a day, so much as we could eat and as good as their country yielded. To wit, a pot of good rice, and three dishes of such things as with them are accounted good cheer; one always either flesh, fish or eggs, but not overmuch of this dish; the other dishes, herbs, pumpkins or such like, one of which was always made sour.

The first year that we were brought to this town; this part of the land was extraordinarily sickly with agues and fevers, whereof many people died: insomuch that many times we were forced to remain an hungry; there being none well enough either to boil or bring victuals unto us.

We had with us a *Practice of Piety*, and Master ROGER's *Seven Treatises* called *The Practice of Christianity*. With which

companions we did frequently discourse; and in the cool of the evening walked abroad in the field for a refreshing, being tired with being all day in our house or prison.

This course lasted until GOD was pleased to visit us both with the country's sickness, ague and fever. The sight of my father's misery was far more grievous unto me than the sense of my own; that I must be a spectator of his affliction, and not in any way able to help him. And the sight of me so far augmented his grief, that he would often say "What have I done, when I charged you to come ashore to me again? Your dutifulness to me hath brought you to be a captive. I am old and cannot long hold out, but you may live to see many days of sorrow; if the mercy of GOD do not prevent it. But my prayers to GOD for you shall not be wanting; that for this cause, he would visit you with his mercy and bestow on you a blessing."

My father's ague lasted not long; but deep grief daily more and more increased upon him; which so overwhelmed even his very heart, that with many a bitter sigh, he used to utter these words, "These many years, even from my youth, have I used the seas; in which time the Lord GOD hath delivered me from a multitude of dangers"—rehearsing to me what great dangers he had been in in the Straits of Gibraltar by the Turks and by other enemies, and also in many other places too large here to insert; and always how merciful GOD was to him in delivering him out of them all —"so that he never knew what it was to be in the hands of an enemy: but now, in his old age, when his head was grown grey, to be a captive to the heathen, and to leave his bones in the eastern parts of the world: when it was his hope and intention, if GOD had permitted him to finish this voyage, to spend and end the residue of his days at home with his children in his native country; and so to settle me in the ship in his stead. The thoughts of these things did even break his heart."

Upwards of three months, my father lay in this manner upon his bed; having only under him a mat and the carpet he sat upon in the boat when he came ashore, and a small quilt I had to cover him withal. And I had only a mat upon the ground, and a pillow to lay on; and nothing to cover me but the clothes on my back: but when I was cold and that

my ague came upon me, I used to make a fire; wood costing nothing but the fetching.

We had a black boy [? *a Madrassee*] that my father brought from Porto Nova to attend upon him: who seeing his master to be a prisoner in the hands of the people of his complexion, would not now obey his command further than what agreed unto his own humour: neither was it then, as we thought, in our power to compel or make him; but that was our ignorance.

As for me, my ague now came to a settled course, that is, once in three days, and so continued for sixteen months' time.

There appearing now to us no probability, whereupon to build any hopes of liberty: the sense of it struck my father into such an agony and strong passion of grief that once, I well remember, in nine days' time nothing came into his mouth but cold water; neither did he in three months together, ever rise up out of his bed but when the course of nature required it: always groaning and sighing in a most piteous manner, which for me to hear and see come from my dear father, myself also in the same condition, did almost break my heart. But then I felt that doctrine most true, which I had read out of Master ROGERS's book, "That GOD is most sweet; when the world is most bitter."

In this manner my father lay until the 9th of February 1661: by which time he was consumed to an anatomy [*reduced to a skeleton*], having nothing left but skin to cover his bones. Yet he would often say, "that the very sound of liberty would so revive him, that it would put strength into his limbs." But it was not the will of Him, to whom we say "Thy will be done" to have it so.

The evening before his death, he called me to come near his bedside, and to sit down by him; at which time I had also a strong fever upon me. This done, he told me, "That he sensibly felt his life departing from him, and was assured that this night GOD would deliver him out of his captivity: and that he never thought, in all his lifetime, that death could be so easy and welcome to any man as GOD had made it to be to him, and the joys he now felt in himself he wanted utterance to express to me." He told me "These were the last words that ever he should speak to me, and bade me well to regard and to be sure to remember them, and tell them to my

brother and sister, if it pleased GOD, as he hoped it would, to bring us together in England, where I should find all things settled to my contentation:" relating unto me after what manner he had settled his estate by letters, which he sent from Kottiaar.

"In the first place, and above all; he charged me to serve GOD, and with a circumspect care to walk in His ways; and then," he said, "GOD would bless me and prosper me." And next, he bade me, "have a care of my brother and sister." And lastly, he gave me "a special charge to beware of strong drink and lewd company; which, as by experience many had found, would change me into another man, so that I should not be myself." "It deeply grieved him," he said, "to see me in captivity in the prime of my years, and so much the more because I had chosen rather to suffer captivity with him than to disobey his command; which now he was heartily sorry for, that he had so commanded me: but bade me not repent of obeying the command of my father, seeing for this very thing," he said, "GOD would bless me," and bade me "be assured of it, which he doubted not of, namely, that GOD Almighty would deliver me." Which, at that time, I could not tell how to conceive of, seeing but little sign of any such matter. But blessed be the Name of my most precious GOD, who hath so bountifully sustained me ever since in the land of my captivity, and preserved me alike to see my deceased father's word fulfilled! And truly I was so far from repenting that I had obeyed the command of my father, and performed the oath and promise I made unto him upon it; that it rather rejoiced me to see that GOD had given me so much grace.

But though it was a trouble to him, that by his means, I was thus made a captive; yet "it was a great comfort to him," he said, "to have his own son sit by him on his death-bed, and by his hands to be buried; whereas otherwise he could expect no other but to be eaten by dogs or wild beasts." Then he gave me order concerning his burial, "That having no winding sheet, I should pull his shirt over his head and slip his breeches over his feet, and so wrap him up in the mat he laid upon." And then he ceased speaking, and fell into a slumber. This was about eight or nine o'clock in the evening: and about two or three in the morning he gave up

the ghost, February 9th 1660; being very sensible unto the very instant of his departure.

According to his own appointment; with my own hands, I wrapped him up ready for the grave: myself being very sick and weak; and, as I thought, ready to follow after him.

Having none but the black boy, I bade him ask the people of the town for help to carry my father to the grave; because I could not understand their language: who immediately brought forth a great rope they used to tie their cattle withal, therewith to drag him by the neck into the woods; saying "that they could afford me no other help, unless I would pay for it." This insolency of the heathen grieved me much to see; neither could I, with the boy alone, do what was necessary for his burial, though we had been able to carry the corpse: having not wherewithal to dig a grave, and the ground being very dry and hard. Yet it was some comfort to me, that I had so much ability as to hire one to help; which at first I would not have spared to have done, had I known their meaning.

By this means, I thank God, in so decent a manner as our present condition would permit, I laid my father's body in the grave; most of which I digged with my own hands: the place being in a wood on the north side of a corn field, where heretofore we had used often to walk, going up to Handapoul [? *Handepoli*]. That division, as I have said, being called Bonder Coswat, because formerly it had belonged to the revenues or jointure of the Queen: *Bonder* implying something relating to the King. It lies towards the north-west of the middle of the island, in the county of Hotkorle.

Thus was I left desolate, sick, and in captivity; having no earthly comforter; none but only He who looks down from heaven to hear the groaning of the prisoners; and to show himself a Father to the fatherless, and a present help to them that have no helper.

The news of my father's death being carried to Court; presently two messengers were sent from thence to see me, and to know of me how and in what manner my father died; and what he had left? Which was a gold ring, a pagoda [= 6*s.* *in present value*], some two or three dollars, and a few old clothes; GOD knows but a very little: yet it scared me not a little, fearing they would take it away from me, and

my want being so great: but they had no such order or intent. But the chief occasion of their coming was to renew the former order unto the people of that town: that they should be kind to me; and give me good victuals, lest I might die also, as my father had done. So for a while I had better entertainment than formerly.

CHAPTER III.

How I lived after my father's death: and of the condition of the rest of the English, and how it fared with them. And of our interview.

STILL remained where I was before; having none but the black boy and my ague to bear me company. Never found I more pleasure in reading, meditating and praying than now: for there was nothing else could administer to me any comfort; neither had I any other business to be occupied about. I had read my two books so often over, that I had them almost by heart. For my custom was after dinner, to take a book and go into the fields and sit under a tree; reading and meditating until evening: except the day when my ague came, for then I could scarce hold up my head. Often have I prayed as ELIJAH under the juniper tree, that GOD would take away my life; for it was a burden to me.

At length it pleased GOD that my ague began to be a little moderate; and so, by degrees, it wore away: after it had held me sixteen months.

Provisions falling short with me, though rice, I thank GOD, I never wanted, and money also growing low: as well to help out a meal as for recreation; sometimes I went with an angle to catch small fish in the brooks, the aforesaid boy being with me.

It chanced, as I was fishing, an old man passed by; and seeing me, asked of my boy, "if I could read in a book?" He answered "Yes." "The reason I ask," said the old man, "is because I have one I got when the Portuguese lost Colombo; and if your master please to buy it, I will sell it him." Which when I heard of, I bade my boy go to his house with him, which was not far off, and bring it to me to see it; making no great account of the matter, supposing it might be some Portuguese book.

The boy having formerly served the English, knew the

book; and as soon as he had got it in his hand, came running with it, calling out to me "It is a Bible." It startled me to hear him mention the name of a "Bible:" for I neither had one, nor scarcely could ever think to see one. Upon which, I flung down my angle, and went to meet him. The first place the book opened in, after I took it in my hand, was the sixteenth chapter of the Acts, and the first place my eye pitched on, was the 30th and 31st verses, where the gaoler asked St. PAUL "What must I do to be saved? And he answered saying, Believe in the Lord JESUS CHRIST, and thou shalt be saved and thine house."

The sight of this book so rejoiced me, and affrighted me together; that I cannot say which passion was greater, the Joy for that I had got sight of a Bible, or the Fear that I had not enough to buy it, having then but one pagoda in the world: which I willingly would have given for it, but my boy dissuaded me from giving so much, alleging my necessity for money many other ways, and undertaking to procure the book for a far meaner price; provided I would seem to slight it in the sight of the old man. This counsel after I considered, I approved of, my urgent necessities earnestly craving, and my ability being but very small to relieve the same: and however, I thought, I could give my piece of gold at the last cast, if other means should fail.

I hope the readers will excuse me, that I hold them so long upon this single passage; for it did so affect me then, that I cannot lightly pass it over as often as I think of it, or have occasion to mention it. The sight indeed of this Bible so overjoyed me, as if an angel had spoken to me from heaven. To see that my gracious GOD had prepared such an extraordinary blessing for me, which I did, and ever shall look upon as miraculous: to bring unto me a Bible in my own native language; and that in such a remote part of the world where His name was not so much as known, and where any Englishman was never known to have been before. I looked upon it as somewhat of the same nature with the Ten Commandments He had given the Israelites out of heaven. It being the thing for want whereof I had so often mourned, nay and shed tears too; and than the enjoyment whereof, there could be no greater joy in the world to me.

Upon the sight of it I left off fishing; GOD having brought

a fish to me that I longed for: and now how to get it and enjoy the same, all the powers of my soul were employed. I gave GOD hearty thanks that He had brought it so near me, and most earnestly prayed that He would bestow it on me. Now it being well towards evening, and not having wherewithal to buy it about me, I departed home; telling the old man that in the morning I would send my boy to buy it of him.

All that night I could take no rest for thinking on it, fearing lest I might be disappointed of it. In the morning, as soon as it was day, I sent the boy with a knit cap he had made for me to buy the book, praying in my heart for good success: which it pleased GOD to grant. For that cap purchased it, and the boy brought it to me to my great joy; which did not a little comfort me in all my afflictions.

Having said all this concerning my father and myself, it will now be time to think of the rest of our poor countrymen, and to see what is become of them.

They were carried into the county of Hotterakorle, westward from the city of Kandy; and placed singly according to the King's order aforesaid, some four, some six miles distant one from the other. It was the King's command concerning them that the people should give them victuals, and look after them: so they carried each man from house to house to eat, as their turns came to give them victuals: and where they supped, there they lodged that night. Their bedding was only a mat upon the ground.

They knew not that they were so near to one another a great while, till at length Almighty GOD was pleased by their grief and heaviness to move those heathen to pity and take compassion on them; so that they did bring some of them to one another. Which joy was but abortive, for no sooner did they begin to feel the comfort of one another's company; but immediately their keepers called upon them to go from whence they came, fearing they might consult and run away, although Colombo, the nearest port they could fly to, was above two days' journey from them. But as it is with wild beasts beginning to grow tame, their liberty increaseth; so it happened to our men. So that at length, they might go and see one another at their pleasures; and were less and less watched and regarded: and seeing they did not attempt to

run away; they made no matter of it, if they stayed two or three days one with the other.

They all wondered much to see themselves in this condition, to be kept only to eat; and the people of the country giving it unto them, daily expecting when they would put them to work, which they never did nor dared to do. For the King's order was to feed them well only, and to look after them; until he pleased to send for them.

This, after some time, made the Englishmen change their minds, and not to think themselves slaves any more; but the inhabitants of the land to be their servants, in that they laboured to sustain them: which made them to begin to domineer, and would not be content, unless they had such victuals as pleased them; and oftentimes used to throw the pots victuals and all, at their heads that brought them, which they patiently would bear.

And as they lived here longer, they knew better what privileges they had in belonging unto the King; and being maintained by virtue of his command. And their privileges they made use of to no purpose, as I shall relate an instance or two by and by, and showed their English metal.

Victuals were the only thing allowed to them, but no clothes. By this time the clothes they had were almost worn out. This put them to a study what course to take to procure more, when those on their backs were gone. The readiest way that they could devise was this, that whereas they used to take their victuals brought to them ready dressed, they should now take them raw; and so to pinch somewhat out of their bellies to save to buy clothes for their backs. And so accordingly they concluded to do, and by the favour that GOD gave them in the sight of the people, by alleging the innocency of their cause and the extremity of their present condition, having not the least ability to help or relieve themselves; they consented to give them two measures of rice a day each man, one of which is as much as any man can eat in a day, so that the other was to serve for advance towards clothes. For besides rice, they gave them to eat with it, salt, pepper, limes, herbs, pumpkins, cocoa nuts, flesh (a little): these, and such like things, were their constant fare.

And thus they made a shift to live for some years, until

some of them had an insight in knitting caps, by whom all afterwards learned: and it proved to be the chief means and help we all had to relieve our wants. The ordinary price we sold these caps for was ninepence apiece, in value of English money; the thread standing us in about three pence. But at length—we plying hard our new learned trade—caps began to abound, and trading grew dead, so that we could not sell them at the former price; which brought several of our nation to great want.

The English began now to pluck up their hearts; and though they were entered into a new condition, they kept their old spirits: especially considering they were the King's men, and quartered by his special order, upon the people.

When they had obtained to have their allowance raw, if any brought them not their full due, they would go in and plunder their houses of such goods as they found there: and keep them until they came and brought them their complete allowance to redeem their goods back again.

Some of our Englishmen have proceeded further yet. One, for example, went to buy pots of a potter; who, because he [*the potter*] would not let him have them at his own price, fell to a quarrel; in which the Englishman met with some blows: which he complained of to the magistrate, as being a person that belonged unto the King, and therefore claimed better usage. And the magistrate condemned the potter as guilty in lifting up his hand against him; and sent some of his soldiers to bind him, and then bade the Englishman go and content himself by paying him in the same coin again as he had served our countryman, which he did until he was satisfied: and moreover, ordered him to take the pots he came to buy and pay nothing. But the law was not so satisfied neither: for the soldiers lay on many blows besides.

Another time, at a certain feast, as they were drinking and wanting wine, they sent money to buy more; but the seller refused to give it them for their money: which they took so heinously, that they unanimously concluded to go and take it by force. Away they went, each man with a staff in his hand, and entered the house and began to drink: which the people, not liking of, gathered their forces together, and by blows began to resist them. But the Englishmen bravely

behaved themselves, and broke several of their pates: who, with the blood about their ears, went to the city of Kandy to complain to the great men. They demanded of them, "if they had ever sold them wine before." They answered "Yes." They asked them again, "Why then did they refuse to sell to them now?" and that they were well served by the English for denying them drink for their money: and so sent them away, laughing at them. Our men got two or three black and blue blows; but they came home with their bellies full of drink for their pains.

But to return unto myself. It was a full year after my father died, before I had sight of any of my countrymen and fellow prisoners. Then JOHN GREGORY, with much ado, obtained leave to come and see me; which did exceedingly rejoice me. For a great satisfaction it was, both to see a countryman, and also to hear of the welfare of the rest. But he could not be permitted to stay with me above one day. Until then, I knew not punctually [*exactly*] where the rest of my countrymen were: but having heard that they were within a day's journey of me, I never ceased importuning the people of the town where I dwelt, to let me go and see them: which though very loth, yet at last they granted.

Being arrived at the nearest Englishman's house, I was joyfully received; and the next day, he went and called some of the rest of our countrymen that were near. So that there were some seven or eight of us met together.

We gave GOD thanks for His great mercies towards us; being then, as we did confess, in a far better condition than we could have expected. They were now no more like the prisoners I left them: but were become housekeepers and knitters of caps; and had changed their habit from breeches to clouts [*clothes*] like the Cingalese. They entertained me with very good cheer in their houses, beyond what I did expect.

My money, at the same time, being almost gone; and clothes in the same condition: it was high time for me now to take some course in hand to get more. Therefore I took some advice with them about knitting, my boy having skill therein. Likewise they advised me to take my victuals raw wherein they found great profit. For all this while there

being no signs of releasing us, it concerned me now to bethink myself how I should live for the future. For neither had I any more than my countrymen any allowance for clothes, but for victuals only.

Having stayed here some two or three days; we did take leave of one another, hoping to see one another oftener: since we now knew each other's habitations: and I departed to my house, having a keeper with me.

By this time, I began to speak the language of the country, whereby I was enabled the better to speak my mind unto the people that brought me my victuals; which was, henceforth not to boil my rice but to bring it raw, according to the quantity that the other Englishmen had. This occasioned a great deal of disputing and reasoning between us. They alleged "that I was not as they, being the Captain's son and they but his servants: and therefore that it was ordered by the great men at Court that my victuals should be daily brought unto me; whereas they went always from house to house for theirs. Neither was it fitting for me," they said, "to employ myself in such an inferior office as to dress my own meat, being a man that the King had notice of by name; and very suddenly before I should be aware of it, would send for me into his presence; where I should be highly promoted to some place of honour. In the mean time," they told me, as pretending to give me good counsel, "that it was more for my credit and reputation to have my provisions brought unto me ready dressed as they were before."

Although I was yet but a novice in the country, and knew not much of the people; yet plain reason told me that it was not so much for my good and credit that they pleaded, as for their own benefit: wherefore I returned them this answer, "That if, as they said, I was greater in quality than the rest, and so held in their estimation; it would be but reason to demand a greater allowance; whereas I desired no more than the other Englishmen had: and as for the toil and trouble in dressing of it, that would be none to me, for my boy had nothing else to do." And then I alleged several inconveniences in bringing my victuals ready boiled: as first, that it was not dressed according to my diet; and many times not brought in due season, so that I could not eat when I was an hungry; and the last and chief reason was, that I might save a little

to serve my necessity for clothing; and rather than want clothes for my back, I must pinch a little out of my belly; and so both go share and share alike.

And so at length, thanks be to GOD, I obtained, though with much ado, to get two measures of rice per diem for myself, and one for my boy; also cocoa nuts, pumpkins, herbs, limes, and such like enough; besides pepper and salt; and sometimes hens, eggs, or flesh: rice being the main thing they stand upon, for of other things they refuse not to give what they have.

Now having settled all business about my allowance, my next concern was to look after a house more convenient; for my present one was too small to dress my victuals in and sleep in too. Thereabouts was a garden of cocoa-nut trees belonging to the King, and a pleasant situation. This place I made choice of to build me a house in: and discovering my desire to the people; they consented, and came and built it for me. But before it was finished, their occasions called them away; but my boy and I made an end of it, and whitened [*whitewashed*] the walls with lime, according to my own country's fashion. But in doing this, I committed a capital offence: for none may white[wash] their houses with lime, that being peculiar to the royal houses and temples: but, being a stranger, nothing was made of it, because I did it in ignorance. Had it been a native that had so done, it is most probable that it would have cost him his head, or at the least a great fine.

Being settled in my new house, I began to keep hogs and hens; which, by GOD's blessing, throve very well with me, and were a great help unto me. I had also a great benefit by living in this garden. For all the cocoa nuts that fell down, they gave me; which afforded me oil to burn in the lamp, and also to fry my meat in: which oil being new, is but little inferior to this country's butter. Now I learned to knit caps, which skill I quickly attained unto; and, by GOD's blessing upon the same, I obtained great help and relief thereby.

In this manner we all lived: seeing but very little sign that we might build upon, to look for liberty. The chief of our hopes of it was that in process of time, when we were

better acquainted, we might run away: which some of our people attempted to do too soon, before they knew well which way to go, and were taken by the inhabitants. For it is the custom of the Cingalese to suspect all white people they meet travelling in the country to be runaways, and to examine them: and if they cannot give satisfactory answers, they will lay hold of them and carry them back unto the city [of Kandy]; where they will keep them prisoners under a guard of soldiers, in an open house like a barn, with a little victuals sometimes, and sometimes with none at all. Where they have no other remedy to help themselves but begging: and in this condition, they may lie perhaps for their lifetime; being so kept for a spectacle unto the people.

Though the common way whereby the King gratifies such as catch runaways and bring them up [to the city], is not over acceptable. For they are appointed to feed and watch them, until he calls for them to be brought before him; at which time, his promise is bountifully to reward them. But these promises I never knew performed: neither doth he perhaps ever think of it after. For when the King is made acquainted with the matter, the men that have brought up the prisoner are in a manner as bad prisoners themselves; not daring to go home to their houses, without his leave: but there they must remain. After some years' stay, the common manner is for them to give a fee unto the governor of the country, and he will license them to go home; which they must be contented with, instead of the promised reward.

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning some other Englishmen detained in that country.

N the same captivity with ourselves on this island was another company of Englishmen, who were taken about a year and a half before us, viz.: in the year 1658. They were thirteen in number, whose names were as follows, viz.:—Master WILLIAM VASSAL, JOHN MERGINSON, THOMAS MARCH, THOMAS KIRBY, RICHARD JELF, GAMALIEL GARDNER, WILLIAM DAY, THOMAS STAPLETON, HENRY MAN, HUGH SMART, DANIEL HOLSTEIN an Hamburgher, JAMES GONY and HENRY BINGHAM.

The occasion of their seizure was thus. The ship these men belonged to, was the *Persia Merchant*, Captain FRANCIS JOHNSON Commander; which was lost upon the Maldive islands: but they escaped in their boats, and passing along by this land went on shore to recruit and buy provisions; and so were taken. The Cingalese that took them, plundered them of what they had, except their clothes. Yet one of them, JOHN MERGINSON by name, having cunningly hid his money about him, saved it from the heathen: but from his own countrymen he could not; some of them knowing of it, set upon him and robbed him of it. But it did them little good, for the King hearing of it, sent and robbed the robbers.

These men thus seized, were carried up before the King, of whom he demanded, "whether the English had wars with the Hollanders?" They answered, "No." "Or if the English could beat them?" They answered, "They could, and had done it lately." Then he gave order to give them all some clothes; and to Master WILLIAM VASSAL, being the chief of them, a double portion. And out of them, he made choice of two lads, whom afterwards he sent and took into his Court. Their honours and their ends we shall see by and by.

They were all placed in the city of Kandy, and each of

them had a new mat given them to sleep on, and their diet was victuals dressed and brought them, twice a day, from the King's own palace. They had clothes also distributed to them at another time. So that these men had the advantage of us: for we neither had mats nor clothes, nor had the honour of being ever brought into the King's presence.

This civil reception upon their first coming up into the city put the *Persia Merchant* men in hope that the King would give them their liberty. There was at that time an old Portuguese father, Padre VERGONSE by name, living in the city. With him they discoursed concerning the probability of their liberty, and that the favours the King had shown them seemed to be good signs of it: but he told them the plain truth, that it was not customary there to release white men. For saying which, they railed on him; calling him "Popish dog" and "Jesuitical rogue," supposing he spoke as he wished it might be: but afterwards, to their grief, they found it to be true as he told them.

Their entertainment was excellently good according to the poor condition of the country: but they thought it otherwise, very mean; and not according to the King's order. Therefore that the King might be informed how they were abused, each man took the limb of a hen in his hand, and they marched rank and file, in order, through the streets, with it in their hands to the Court; as a sign to the great men, whereby they might see how illy [*badly*] they were served: thinking hereby the King might come to hear of their misusage, and so they might have orders to be fed better afterwards. But this proved sport to the noblemen who knew well the fare of the country: they laughing at their ignorance, to complain where they had so little cause. And indeed afterwards, they themselves laughed at this action of theirs, and were half ashamed of it; when they came to a better understanding of the nature of the country's diet.

Yet notwithstanding, being not used to such short commons of flesh, though they had rice in abundance, and having no money to buy more; they had a desire to kill some cows, that they might eat their bellies full of beef: but made it somewhat a point of conscience, whether it might be lawful or not to take them without leave. Upon which they applied themselves to the old father aforesaid, desiring him to solve

this case of conscience: who was very ready to give them a dispensation; and told them, "that forasmuch as the Cingalese were their enemies and had taken their bodies, it was very lawful for them to satisfy their bodies with their goods." And the better to animate them in this design, he bade them bring him a piece that he might partake with them. So being encouraged by the old father, they went on boldly in their intended business.

Now if you would have an account of the mettle and manfulness of these men, as you have already had a taste of those of ours; take this passage. The Jak fruit the King's officers often gather wheresoever it grows, and give it to the King's elephants; and they may gather it in any man's grounds without the owner's leave, being for the King's use. Now these Englishmen were appointed to dwell in a house that formerly belonged unto a nobleman, whom the King had cut off, and seized upon it. In the ground belonging to this house stood a Jak tree full of fruit. Some of the King's men came thither to gather some to feed the elephants: but although the English had free liberty to gather what they could eat or desire; yet they would permit none but themselves to meddle with them, but took the officers by the shoulders and turned them out of the garden; although there were a great many more fruits than they could tell what to do with. The great men were so civil that notwithstanding this affront, they had no punishment upon them. But the event of this was, that a few days after, they were removed from this house to another where was a garden, but no trees in it. And because they would not allow the King a few, they lost all themselves.

I mentioned before two lads of this company, whom the King chose out for his own service. Their names were HUGH SMART and HENRY MAN. These being taken into his Court, obtained great favour and honour from him, as to be always in his presence, and very often he would kindly and familiarly talk with them, concerning their country, what it afforded, and of their King, and his strength for war.

Till at length HUGH SMART having a desire to hear news concerning England, privately got to the speech of a Dutch Ambassador. Of which the King had notice, but would not

believe it, supposing the information was given him out of envy to his favourite; but commanded privately to watch him, and if he went again to catch him there: which he not being aware of, went again and was caught. At which the King was very angry: for he allows none to come to the speech of Ambassadors; much less one that served in his presence and heard and saw all that passed in Court. Yet the King dealt very favourably with him. For had it been a Cingalese, there is nothing more sure than that he should have died for it; but this Englishman's punishment was only to be sent away, and kept a prisoner in the mountains without chains: and the King ordered him to be well used there; where indeed he lived in better content than in the King's palace. He took a wife there, and had one son by her; and afterwards died by a mischance, which was thus: as he was gathering a Jak from the tree by a crook, it [? *the tree*] fell down upon his side, and bruised him; so that it killed him.

HENRY MAN, the other Englishman, yet remained in favour; and was promoted to be chief over all the King's servants that attended on him in his palace. It happened one day that he broke one of the King's china dishes: which made him so sore afraid, that he fled for sanctuary into a *vehar*, a temple where the chief priests always dwell and hold the consultations. This did not a little displease the King, this act of his supposing him to be of opinion that those priests were able to secure him against the King's displeasure. However he, showing reverence to their order, would not violently fetch him from thence; but sent a kind message to the Englishman, bidding him "not to be afraid for so small a matter as a dish"—and it is probable, had he not added this fault, he might have escaped without punishment —"and that he should come, and act in his place as formerly." At which message, he came forth; and immediately, as the King had given orders, they took hold of him, and bound his arms above the elbows behind; which is their fashion of binding men. In which manner, he lay all that night, being bound so hard that his arms swelled, and the ropes cut through the flesh into the bones. The next day the King commanded a nobleman to loose the ropes off his arms, and to put chains on his legs; and to keep him in his house, and there feed him and cure him. Thus he lay some six months, and was

cured; but had no strength in his arms: and then was taken into his office again, and had as much favour from the King, as before; who seemed much to lament him for his folly, thus to procure his own ruin.

Not long after, he again offended the King; which, as it is reported, was thus. A Portuguese had been sent for to the city [of Kandy] to be employed in the King's service; to which service he had no stomach at all, and was greatly afraid thereof, as he justly might be. For the avoiding thereof, he sends a letter to this English courtier; wherein he entreated him to use his interest to excuse him to the King. The Englishman could not read the letter, it being written in the Portuguese tongue, but gave it to another to read: which when he knew the contents thereof, he thought it not safe for him to meddle in that business, and so concealed the letter. The person to whom the Englishman had given it to read, some time after informed the King thereof. Whereupon both the Portuguese that sent the letter, and the Englishman to whom it was sent, and the third person that read it (because he informed not sooner) were all three, at one time and in one place, torn in pieces by elephants.

After this execution; the King supposing that we might be either discontented in ourselves or discountenanced by the people of the land: sent special orders to all parts where we dwelt, that we should be of good cheer; and not be discouraged, neither abused by the natives.

Thus jealous is the King of letters, and allows none to come or go.

We have seen how dear it cost poor HENRY MAN. Master WILLIAM VASSAL, another of the *Persia Merchant* men, was therefore more wary of some letters he had; and came off better. This man had received several letters, as it was known abroad that he had; which he, fearing lest the King should hear of, thought it most convenient and safe to go to the Court and present them himself; that so he might plead in his own defence to the King. Which he did. He acknowledged to him that he had received letters, and that they came to his hands, a pretty while ago; but withal pretended excuses and reasons to clear himself; as that, "when he received them, he knew not that it was against the law and

manner of the country; and when he did know, he took counsel of a Portuguese priest," who was now dead, "being old and, as he thought, well experienced in the country: but he advised him to defer awhile the carrying them unto the King until a more convenient season. After this, he did attempt," he said, "to bring them unto the King; but could not be permitted to have entrance through the Watches; so that until now, he could not have opportunity to present them."

The King at the hearing thereof, seemed not to be displeased in the least, but bade him read them: which he did in the English language, as they were written; and the King sat very attentive, as if he had understood every word. After they were read, the King gave VASSAL a letter he had intercepted, sent to us from Sir EDWARD WINTER, then Agent at Fort St. George [*Madras*], and asked the news and contents thereof: which Mr. VASSAL informed him of, at large. It was concerning the victory [on 3rd June 1665] we had gained over the Dutch; when OPDAM, Admiral of Holland, was slain; and concerning the number of our ships in that fight: being there specified to be an 150 sail. The King inquired much after the number of guns and men they carried. The number of men, he [Master VASSAL] computed to be, one ship with another, about 300 per ship. At which rate, the King demanded of him, how many that was in all? Which Mr. VASSAL went about to cast up in the sand, with his finger: but before he had made his figures, the King had done it by head, and bade him desist; saying it was 45,000.

This news of the Hollanders' overthrow, and the English victory much delighted the King; and he inquired into it very particularly. Then the King pretended that he would send a letter to the English nation, and bade Master VASSAL inform him of a trusty bearer: which he was very forward to do, and named one of the best of those which he had made trial of. One of the great men there present, objected against him; saying, he was insufficient, and asked him if he knew no other. At which, VASSAL suspected their design, which was to learn who had brought those letters: and so framed his answer accordingly, which was, that he knew no other.

There was much other discourse passed between the King and him at this time, in the Portuguese tongue; which, what it was, I could never get out of him, the King having com-

manded him to keep it secret: and he saith, he hath sworn to himself not to divulge it, till he is out of the King's hands. At parting, the King told him that for secrecy, he would send him home privately, or otherwise he would have dismissed him with drums and honour: but after this, the King never sent for him again. And the man that he named as fit and able to carry the King's letter, was sent away prisoner to be kept in chains in the country. It is supposed that they concluded him to have been the man that brought VASSAL his letters.

And thus much of the captivity and condition of the *Persia Merchant* men.

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the means that were used for our deliverance: and what happened to us in the rebellion; and how we were settled afterwards.

ALL OF us, in this manner, remained until the year 1664. At which time arrived a letter on our behalf to the King from the Right Worshipful Sir EDWARD WINTER, Governor of Fort George, and Agent there. The Dutch Ambassador also at that time, by a commission from the Governor of Colombo, treated with the King for us. With Sir EDWARD's message the King was much pleased, and with the Dutch Ambassador's mediation so prevailed with; that he promised he would send us away.

Upon this, he commanded us all to be brought to the city of Nillembe. Whither, when we came, we were very joyful, not only upon the hopes of our liberty; but also upon the sight of one another. For several of us had not seen the others, since we were first parted [in 1660]. Here also we met with the *Persia Merchant* men; whom, until this time, we had not seen. So that we were [originally] nine and twenty English in all.

Some few days after our arrival at the city, we were all called to Court. At which time, standing all of us in one of the palace courtyards, the nobles by command from the King, came forth and told us, "that it was His Majesty's pleasure to grant unto us our liberty and to send us home to our country; and that we should not any more look upon ourselves as prisoners or detained men." At which, we bowed our heads and thanked His Majesty. They told us moreover, "that the King was intending to send us either with the Dutch Ambassador or by the boat which Sir EDWARD WINTER had sent: and that it was His Majesty's goodwill to grant us our choice." We humbly referred it to His Majesty's pleasure. They answered, "His Majesty could and would do his pleasure, but his will

was to know our minds." After a short consultation we answered, "Since it was his Majesty's pleasure to grant us our choice"—with many thanks and obeisance—"we chose to go with the Dutch Ambassador, fearing the boat's insufficiency." She having, as we were well sensible, laid there a great while. And if we had chosen the boat, the danger of going that way, might have served them for a put off to us; and a plea to detain us still, out of care of us: and again, had we refused the Ambassador's kindness at this time; for the future, if these things succeeded not with us now, we could never have expected any more aid or friendship from that nation. In the next place, they told us, "It was the King's pleasure to let us understand, that all those that were willing to stay and serve His Majesty; should have very great rewards, as towns, money, slaves, and places of honour conferred upon them." Which all in general refused.

Then we were bidden to absent ourselves, while they returned our answers to the King. By and bye, there came an order to call us in, one at a time, when the former promises were repeated to every one of us; of great favours, honours and rewards from the King to those that were willing to stay with him: and after each one had given his answer, he was sent into a corner of the courtyard, and then another called; and so all round, one after another: they inquiring particularly concerning each man's trade and office; handicraftsmen and trumpeters being most desired by the King. We being thus particularly examined again; there was not one of us that was tempted by the King's rewards: but all in general refused the King's honourable employment, choosing rather to go to our native country. By which we purchased the King's displeasure.

After this, they told us, that we must wait at the palace gate daily: it being the King's pleasure that we should make our personal appearance before him. In this manner, we waited many days.

At length happened a thing which he least suspected, viz., a general rebellion of his people against him; who assaulted his palace in the night, but their hearts failed them, daring not to enter the apartment where his person was. For if they had had courage enough, they might have taken him there: for he stayed in his palace until the morning,

and then fled into the mountains and escaped their hands; but more through their cowardliness than his valour.

This rebellion I have related at large in the Second Part [of this book]; whither he that desires to know more of it, may have recourse. Only I shall mention here a few things concerning ourselves, who were gotten [*had got*] into the midst of these broils and combustions; being all of us now waiting upon the King in the city of Nillembe.

We here break off Captain KNOX's narrative, to give his account of this rising, from the Second Part referred to.

A relation of the rebellion made against the King.

T HAPPENED in the year 1664 A.D. About which time appeared a fearful blazing star [*a comet*]. Just at the instant of the rebellion, the star was right over our heads. And one thing I very much wondered at was, that whereas before this rebellion, the tail stood away towards the westward; from which side the rebellion sprang: the very night after—for I well observed it—the tail turned, and stood away toward the eastward; and by degrees it diminished quite away.

At this time, I say, the people of this land, having been long and sore oppressed by this King's unreasonable and cruel government, had contrived a plot against him: which was to assault the King's Court in the night, and slay him; and to make the Prince his son, king—he being then some twelve or fifteen years of age—who was then with his mother the Queen in the city of Kandy.

At this time the King held his Court in a city called Nillembe: the situation of which is far inferior to that of Kandy; and as far beyond that of Digligy where he now is. Nillembe lieth some fourteen miles southward of the city of Kandy. In the place where this city stands, it is reported by tradition that an hare gave chase after a dog; upon which it was concluded that that place was fortunate: and so indeed it proved to the King. It is environed with hills and woods.

The time appointed to put their design in action was the 21st of December 1664, about twelve in the night. Having got a select company of men—how many I know not well,

but as it is supposed not above 200; neither needed they many here, having so many confederates in the Court—in the dead of the night, they came marching into the city.

The Watch was thought to be of their confederacy: but if he were not; it was not in his power to resist them. Howbeit afterwards, whether he were or not, he was executed for it.

The said men being thus in the city, hastened and came down to the Court; and fell upon the great men [*nobles*] which then lay without the palace upon watch—since which time, by the King's order, they lie always within the palace—for they were well informed beforehand, who were for them and who not. Many who before were not intrusted to know of their design, were killed and wounded: and those that could, seeing the slaughter of others, got in unto the King; who was walled about with a clay wall, thatched. That was all his strength. Yet these people feared to assault him; lying still until the morning.

At which time, the King made way to flee—fearing to stay in his palace—endeavouring to get unto the mountains. He had not with him above fifty persons. There went with him horses; but the ways were so bad, that he could not ride: they were fain to drive an elephant before him, to break the way through the woods; that the King with his followers might pass.

As he fled, they pursued him; but at a great distance, fearing to approach within shot of him: for he wanted not excellent fowling pieces; which are made there. So he got safe upon a mountain called Gauluda, some fifteen miles distant; where many of the inhabitants that were near, resorted to him. Howbeit had the people of the rebel party been resolute—who were the major part and almost of all the land—this hill could not have secured him, but they might have driven him from thence; there being many ways by which they might have ascended.

There is not far from thence, a high and peaked hill called Mondamounour; where there is but one way to get up, and that very steep: at the top are great stones hanging in chains to let fall when need requireth. Had he fled thither, there had been no way to come at him: but he never will adventure to go, where he may be stopped in.

The people having thus driven away the old King, marched away to the city of Kandy, and proclaimed the Prince, king; giving out to us English who were there, that what they had done they had not done rashly, but upon good consideration and with good advice: the King by his evil government having occasioned it; who went about to destroy them and their country—as in keeping Ambassadors, disannulling of trade, detaining all people that came upon his land, killing his subjects and their children, and not suffering them to enjoy nor to see their wives. All this was contrary to reason; and as they were informed, to the government of other countries.

The Prince being young and tender, and having never been out of the palace, nor ever seen any but those that attended on his person; was—as it seemed afterwards—scared to see so many coming and bowing down to him, and telling him that he was King; and that his father was fled into the mountains. Neither did he say or act anything; as not owning the business or else not knowing what to say or do. This much discouraged the rebels, to see they had no more thanks for their pains. And so all things stood until the 25th of December, at which time they intended to march and fall upon the old King.

But in the interim, the King's sister flies away with the Prince from the Court into the country near unto the King: which so amazed the rebels, that they scattered about the money, cloth and plunder which they had taken, and were going to distribute to the strangers to gain their goodwill and assistance; and fled. Others of their company seeing the business was overthrown; to make amends for their former fact, turned and fell on their consorts [*confederates*], killing and taking prisoners all they could. The people were now all up in arms one against another: killing whom they pleased, only saying they were rebels; and taking their goods.

By this time, a great man [*nobleman*] had drawn out his men, and stood in the field: and there turned, and publicly declared for the old King; and so went to catch the rebels that were scattered abroad: who—when he understood that they were all fled, and no whole party or body left to resist him—marched into the city killing all he could catch.

And so all revolted, and came back to the King again: whilst he only lay still upon his mountain. The King needed not to take care to catch or execute the rebels, for they themselves out of their zeal to him and to make amends for what was past; imprisoned and killed all they met, the plunder being their own. This continued for eight or ten days.

Which the King hearing of, commanded to kill no more: but that whom they took, they should imprison until examination was passed: which was not so much to save innocent persons from violence as that he might have the rebels; to torment them and make them confess their confederates. For he spared none that appeared guilty. Some to this day lie chained in prison; being sequestered from all their estates, and beg for their living.

One of the most notable rebels, called AMBOM WELLARAUL; he sent to Colombo to the Dutch to execute; supposing they would invent new tortures for him, beyond what he knew of: but they—instead of executing him—cut off his chains, and entertained him kindly; and there he is still in the city of Colombo, they reserving him for some designs they may hereafter have against that country.

The King could not but be sensible but that it was his rigorous government that had occasioned this rebellion: yet he amended it not in the least; but on the contrary, like to REHOBOAM, added yet more to the people's yoke.

And being thus safely reinstated in his kingdom again: and observing that the life of his son gave encouragement to the rebellion; he resolved to prevent it for the future by taking him away: which upon the next opportunity he did by poisoning him [pretending to send physic to cure him, when he was sick].

But one thing there is, that argues him guilty of imprudence and horrible ingratitude: that most of those that went along with him when he fled, of whose loyalty he had such ample experience, he has since cut off; and that with extreme cruelty too.

In the month of February, 1666; there appeared in this country another comet or stream in the west; the head end under the horizon, much resembling that which was seen in England in December, 1680. The sight of this did much

daunt both King and people: having but a year or two before felt the sad event of a blazing star in this rebellion which I have now related. The King sent men upon the highest mountains in the land to look if they could perceive the head of it: which they could not, it being still under the horizon. This continued visible about the space of one month: and by that time it was so diminished that it could not be seen.

But there were no remarkable passages that ensued upon it.

We now resume our Author's narration.

It was a great and marvellous mercy of Almighty GOD to bring us safe through these dangers; for it so happened all along, that we were in the very midst of them. Before they gave the assault on the King's palace; they were consulting to lay hands on us: fearing lest we might be prejudicial to their business in joining to the help and assistance of the King against them. For though we were but few in comparison; yet the name of white men was somewhat dreadful to them: whereupon, at first, their counsels were to cut us off. But others among them advised, that it would be better to let us alone, "for that we, being ignorant of their designs"—as indeed we were—"and quiet in our several lodgings; could not be provided to hurt or endanger them: but otherwise, if they should lay hands on us, it would certainly come to the King's ears, and alarm him; and then all would be frustrated and overthrown." This, some of their own party have related to us since. These counsels were not given out of any secret goodwill any of them bore to us, as I believe: but proceeded from the overruling hand of GOD, who put those things into their hearts for our safety and preservation.

The people of the city of Nillembe, whence the King fled, ran away also; leaving their houses and goods behind them: where we found good prey and plunder, being permitted to ransack the houses of all such as were fled away with the King.

The rebels having driven away the King, and marching to the city of Kandy to the Prince, carried us along with them; the chief of their party telling us that we should now be of good cheer, for what they had done they had done upon very good advisement; the King's ill-government having given an

occasion to it: who went about to destroy them and their country: and particularly insisted upon such things as might be plausible to strangers, such as keeping the Ambassadors, discouraging trade, detaining of foreigners that came upon his land, besides his cruelties towards themselves that were his natural people. All which, they told us, they had been informed was contrary to the government of other countries; and now so soon as their business was settled, they assured us, they would detain none that were minded to go to their own country.

Being now at Kandy, on Christmas Day, of all the days in the year; they sent to call us to the Court, and gave us some money and clothes first, to make us the more willing to take up arms; which they intended then to deliver unto us, and to go with them upon a design to fall upon the old King in the palace whither he was fled. But in the very interim of time, GOD being merciful unto us; the Prince with his aunt fled: which so amazed and discouraged them, that the money and clothes which they were distributing to us and other strangers, to gain us over to them, they scattered about the courtyard; and fled themselves. And now followed nothing but the cutting of one another's throats, to make themselves appear the more loyal subjects and make amends for their former rebellion.

We, for our parts, little thinking in what danger we were, fell into a scramble among the rest, to get what we could of the money that was strewed about; being then in great necessity and want. For the allowance which formerly we had, was in this disturbance lost; and so we remained without it for some three months; the want of which, this money did help to supply.

Having gotten what we could at the Court, we made our way to get out of the hurly-burly, to our lodgings: intending, as we were strangers and prisoners, neither to meddle nor to make on the one side or the other; being well satisfied, if GOD would but permit us quietly to sit and eat such a Christmas dinner together, as He had prepared for us.

For our parts, we had no other dealings with the rebels, than to desire them to permit us to go to our native country; which liberty they promised we should not want long. But being sent for by them to the Court, we durst not but go;

and they giving us such things as we wanted, we could not refuse to take them. But the day being turned, put us into great fear; doubting how the King would take it at our hands, from whom, we knew, this could not be hid.

Into our houses, we got safely: but no sooner were we there; but immediately we were called again by a great man, who had drawn out his men, and stood in the field. This man, we thought, had been one of the rebels who to secure himself upon this change, had intended to run away down to Colombo to the Dutch; which made us repair to him the more cheerfully, leaving our meat a roasting on the spit: but it proved otherwise. For no sooner had he gotten us unto him, but he proclaimed himself for the old King; and forthwith he and his company, taking us with him, marched away to fight or seize the rebels; but meeting none, went into the city of Kandy and there dismissed us, saying, "he would acquaint the King how willing and ready we were to fight for him, if need had required." Although, GOD knows, it was the least of our thoughts and intents: yet GOD brought it to pass for our good. For when the King was informed of what we had received of the rebels: this piece of good service that we had done or rather were supposed to have done, was also told him. At the hearing of which, he himself justified us to be innocent, saying, "Since my absence, who was there that would give them victuals?" and, "It was mere want that made them to take what they did." Thus the words of the King's own mouth acquitted us: and when the sword devoured on every side; yet by the Providence of GOD, not one hair of our heads perished.

The tumults being appeased and the rebellion vanquished; the king was settled in his throne again. And all this happened in five days.

We were now greatly necessitated for food, and wanted some fresh orders from the King's mouth for our future subsistence. So that having no other remedy, we were fain to go and lay in the highway that leads to the city of Kandy a begging: for the people would not let us go any nearer towards the King, as we would have done. There therefore we lay, that the King might come to a knowledge of us; and give command for our allowance again. By which means, we obtained our purpose. For having lain there some

two months, the King was pleased to appoint our quarters in the country as formerly; not mentioning a word of sending us away, as he had made us believe before the rebellion.

Now we were all sent away indeed, not into our own country districts, but into new quarters: which being such as GOD would have to be no better, we were glad it was so well; being sore a weary of lying in this manner. We were all now placed one in a town, as formerly; together with the *Persia Merchant* men also, who hitherto had lived in the city of Kandy, and had their provisions brought them out of the King's palace ready dressed. These were now sent away with us into the country: and as strict charge was given for our good entertainment, as before.

We were thus dispersed about the towns, here one and there another, for the more convenient receiving of our allowance, and for the greater ease of the people. And now we were far better to pass [*in a far better pass*] than heretofore; having the language and being acquainted with the manners and customs of the people; and we had the same proportion of victuals and the like respect as formerly.

And now they fell into employments as they pleased, either husbandry or merchandizing or knitting caps; being altogether free to do what they will themselves, and to go where they will, except running away: and for that end, we were not permitted to go down to the sea; but we might travel all about the country, and no man regarded us. For though the people, some of the first years of our captivity, would scarcely let us go any whither, and had an eye upon us afterwards; yet in process of time, all their suspicions of our going away wore off: especially when several of the English had built them houses; and others had taken them wives, by whom they had children, to the number of eighteen living, when I came away.

Having said all this in general of the English people there, I will now continue a further account of myself.

CHAPTER VI.

A continuation of the Author's particular condition after rebellion. He purchaseth a piece of land.

MY HAP was to be quartered in a country called Handapondoun, lying to the westward of the city of Kandy; which place liked [*pleased*] me very well, being much nearer to the sea than where I dwelt before; which gave me some probable hopes, that in time I might chance to make an escape. But in the mean time, to free myself from the suspicion of the people—who watched me by night, and by day had an eye to all my actions—I went to work, with the help of some of my neighbours to build me another house, upon the bank of a river; and intrenched it round with a ditch, and planted an hedge: and so began to settle myself, and followed my business of knitting, and going about the country a trading; seeming to be very well contented in this condition.

Lying so long at the city [of Kandy] without allowance, I had spent all to some seven shillings; which served me for a stock to set up again in these new quarters: and—by the blessing of my most gracious GOD, which never failed me in all my undertakings—I soon came to be well furnished with what that country afforded. Insomuch that my neighbours and townsmen no more suspected my running away; but earnestly advised me to marry, saying "it would be an ease and help to me:" knowing that I then dressed my victuals myself; having turned my boy to seek his fortune, when we were at the city of Kandy. They urged also, "that it was not convenient for a young man as I was to live so solitarily alone in a house; and if it should so come to pass that the King should send me hereafter to my country, their manner of marriage," they said, "was not like ours, and I might without any offence, discharge my wife, and go away."

I seemed not altogether to slight their counsel, that they might the less suspect that I had any thoughts of mine own country; but told them, that, "as yet, I was not

sufficiently stocked," and also, "that I would look for one that I could love," though in my heart I never purposed any such matter; but on the contrary, did heartily abhor all thoughts tending that way.

In this place I lived two years and all that time, could not get one likely occasion of running for it; for I thought it better to forbear running too great a hazard, by being over hasty to escape; than to deprive myself of all hopes for the future, when time and experience would be a great help to me.

In the year 1666, the Hollanders came up and built a fort just below me; there being but a ridge of mountains between them and me; but though so near, I could not come to them, a Watch being kept at every passage. The King sent down against them two great commanders with their armies; but being not strong enough to expel them; they lay in these Watches to stop them from coming up higher. The name of this fort was called Arranderre: which although they could not prevent the Dutch from building at that time; yet some years after, when they were not aware, they fell upon it and took it; and brought all the people of it up to Kandy, where those that remained alive were, when I came from thence.

In this country [*county*] of Hotterakorle where the Dutch had built this fort; were four Englishmen placed, whereof I was one. Respecting all of whom, the King immediately upon the news of the Dutch invasion, sent orders to bring up out of the danger of the war into Conde Uda; fearing that which we were intending to do, viz.—to run away.

This invasion happening so unexpectedly, and our remove being so sudden: I was forced to leave behind me that little estate which GOD had given me, being scattered abroad in betel nuts, the great commodity of that country; which I was then in parting from. Much ado I had to get my clothes brought along with me; the enemies, as they called them (but my friends) being so near. And thus I was carried out of this county as poor as I came into it, leaving all the fruits of my labour and industry behind me: which called to my remembrance the words of JOB, "Naked came I into this world, and naked shall I return. GOD gave and GOD hath taken away. Blessed be the name of the LORD."

We all four were brought together up into a town on the top of a mountain, called Lagoondenia: where I and my dear friend

and fellow-prisoner Master JOHN LOVELAND, lived together in one house. For by this time, not many of our people were as we were, that is, single men: but seeing so little hope, despaired of their liberty; and had taken wives or bedfellows.

At our first coming into this town, we were very much dismayed: it being one of the most dismal places that I have seen upon that land. It stands alone upon the top of a mountain and no other town near it, and has not above four or five houses in it. And oftentimes into this town, did the King use to send such malefactors as he was minded suddenly to cut off. Upon these accounts, our being brought to this place, could not but scare us; and the more because it was the King's special order and command to place us in this very town.

But this our trouble and dejection, thanks be to GOD! lasted but a day; for the King seemed to apprehend into what a fit of fear and sorrow, this our remove would cast us; and to be sensible, how sadly we must needs take it to change a sweet and pleasant country such as Handapondoun and the country adjacent was, for this most sad and dismal mountain. And therefore the next day came a comfortable message from the King's own mouth, sent by no less a man than he who had the chief power and command over those people, who were appointed to give us our victuals, where we were. This message which, as he said himself, he was ordered by the King to deliver to the people in our hearing, was this, "That they should not think that we were malefactors, that is, such, who having incurred the King's displeasure, were sent to be kept prisoners there; but men whom his Majesty did highly esteem and meant to promote to great honour in his service; and that they should respect us as such, and entertain us accordingly. And if their ability would not reach thereunto, it was the King's order," he said, "to bid them sell their cattle and goods, and when that was done, their wives and children: rather than we should want of our due allowance," which he ordered should be as formerly we used to have: "and if we had not houses thatched and sufficient for us to dwell in," he said, "we should change and take theirs."

This kind order from the King coming so suddenly, did not a little comfort and encourage us: for then we did perceive

the King's purpose and intent in placing us in those remote parts, was not to punish us, but there that we might be his instruments to plague and take revenge of that people; who it seems had plundered the King's palace in the time of the late rebellion, when he left it and fled, for this town lies near unto the same [i.e. *Nillembe*]. And their office lying about the Court, they had the fairer opportunity of plundering it: for the service they have to perform to the King is to carry his palanquin, when he pleaseth to ride therein; and also to bring milk every morning to the Court, they being keepers of the King's cattle.

In this town we remained some three years, by which time we were grown quite weary of the place; and the place and people also grown weary of us, who were but troublesome guests to them; for having such great authority given us over them, we would not lose it; and being four of us in call one of another, we would not permit or suffer them to domineer over us. Being thus tired with one another's company, and the King's order being of an old date, we used all the means we could to clear ourselves of one another; often repairing unto the Court to seek to obtain a license that we might be removed and placed anywhere else; but there was none that durst grant it, because it was the King's peculiar command and special appointment that we must abide in that very town.

During the time of our stay here, we had our victuals brought us in good order and due season, the inhabitants having such a charge given them by their Governor, and he from the King; durst not do otherwise: so that we had but little to do; only to dress and eat, and sit down to knit.

I had used the utmost of my skill and endeavour to get a license to go down to my former quarters, all things being now pretty well settled; hoping that I might recover some of my old debts: but by no means could I obtain it. The denial of so reasonable a desire, put me upon taking leave. I was well acquainted with the way, but yet I hired a man to go with me; without which I could not get through the Watches: for although I was the master and he the man; yet when we came into the Watches; he was the keeper and I the prisoner. And by this means we passed without being suspected.

Being come into my old quarters, by pretending that this man was sent down from the magistrate to see that my debts and demands might be duly paid and discharged, I chanced to recover some of them; and the rest I gave over for lost: for I never more looked after them. And so I began the world anew; and, by the blessing of GOD, was again pretty well recruited, before I left this town.

In the time of my residence here [at Lagoondenia], I chanced to hear of a small piece of land that was to be sold; about which I made very diligent inquiry: for although I was sore a weary of living in this town, yet I could not get out of it; not having other new quarters appointed me, unless I could provide a place for myself to remove to; which now GOD had put into my hand. As for the King's command I dreaded it not much, having found by observation that the King's orders wore away by time, and that the neglect of them comes at last to be unregarded. However I was resolved to put it to the hazard, come what would.

Although I had been now some seven or eight years in this land, and by this time came to know pretty well the customs and constitutions of the nation, yet I would not trust my own knowledge; but to prevent the worst, I went to the Governor of that same country where the land lay, to desire his advice, whether or not I might lawfully buy that small piece of land. He inquired "whose, and what land it was?" I informed him "that it had been formerly dedicated to a priest, and he at his death had left it to his grandson; who for want, was forced to sell it." Understanding this, the Governor approved of the business, and encouraged me to buy it; saying "that such kind of lands only, were lawful here to be bought and sold, and that this was not in the least litigious."

Having gotten both his consent and advice, I went on cheerfully with my purchase. The place also liked [*pleased*] me wondrously well: it being a point of land, standing into a cornfield; so that cornfields were on three sides of it, and just before my door, a little corn ground belonging thereto and very well watered. In the ground besides eight cocoa-nut trees, there were all sorts of fruit trees that the country afforded. But it had been so long desolate that it was all overgrown with bushes, and had no sign of a house therein.

The price of this land was five and twenty larees, that is, five dollars, a great sum of money in the account of this country: yet—thanks be to GOD! who had so far enabled me after my late and great loss—I was strong enough to lay this down. The terms of purchase being concluded on between us, a writing was made upon a leaf after that country's manner, witnessed by seven or eight men of the best quality in the town, which was delivered to me; and I paid the money, and then took possession of the land. It lies some ten miles to the southward of the city of Kandy in the county of Oodanowera, in the town of Elledat.

Now I went about building a house upon my land, and was assisted by three of my countrymen that dwelt near by; ROGER GOLD, RALPH KNIGHT, and STEPHEN RUTLAND: and in a short time, we finished it. The country people were all well pleased to see us thus busy ourselves about buying of land, and building of houses; thinking it would tie our minds the faster to their country, and make us think the less upon our own.

Though I had built my new house, yet durst I not yet leave my old quarters in Lagoondenia, but waited until a more convenient time fell out for that purpose. I went away therefore to my old home; and left my aforesaid three English neighbours to inhabit it in my absence.

Not long after, I found a fit season to be gone to my estate at Elledat: and upon my going the rest [of the four] left the town [of Lagoondenia] also, and went and dwelt elsewhere; each one lived where he best liked. But by this means, we all lost a privilege which we had before; which was, that our victuals were brought unto us: and now we were forced to go and fetch them ourselves; the people alleging, truly enough, that they were not bound to carry our provisions about the country after us.

Being settled in my new house, I began to plant ground full of all sorts of fruit trees, which, by the blessing of GOD, all grew and prospered, and yielded me plenty and good increase; sufficient both for me and those that dwelt with me: for the three Englishmen I left at my house when I departed back to Lagoondenia, still lived with me.

We were all single men, and we agreed very well together,

and were helpful to one another. And for their help and assistance, I freely granted them liberty to use and enjoy whatsoever the ground afforded, as much as myself. And, with a joint consent, it was concluded amongst us, "that only single men and bachelors should dwell there; and that such as would not be conformable to this present agreement, should depart and absent himself from our society; and also forfeit his right and claim to the forementioned privilege, that is, to be cut off from all benefit of whatsoever the trees and ground afforded."

I thought fit to make such a covenant, to exclude women from coming in among us, to prevent all strife and dissension, and to make all possible provision for the keeping up of love and quietness among ourselves.

In this manner, we four lived together some two years very lovingly and contentedly; not an ill word passing between us. We used to take turns in keeping at home, while the rest went forth about their business. For our house stood alone, and had no neighbour near it: therefore we always left one within. The rest of the Englishmen lived round about us; some four or five miles distant, and some more: so that we were, as it were, within reach one of another, which made us like our present situation the more.

Thus we lived upon the mountains, being beset round about us with Watches, most of our people being now married: so that now all talk and suspicion of our running away was laid aside; neither indeed was it scarcely possible. The effect of which was that now we could walk from one to the other, or where we would upon the mountains; no man molesting or disturbing us in the least: so that we began to go about a pedling and trading in the country further towards the northward, carrying our caps about to sell.

By this time, two of our company [ROGER GOLD and RALPH KNIGHT] seeing but little hopes of liberty, thought it too hard a task thus to lead a single life; and married: which when they had done, according to the former agreement, they departed from us.

So that our company was now reduced to two, namely, myself and STEPHEN RUTLAND; whose inclination and resolution was as steadfast as mine against marriage. And we parted not to the last, but came away together.

Chapter VII.

A return to the rest of the English, with some further accounts of them. And some further discourse of the Author's course of life.

Let us now make a visit to the rest of our countrymen; and see how they do.

They reckoning themselves in for their lives, in order to their future settlement, were generally disposed to marry; concerning which we have had many and sundry disputes among ourselves: as particularly, concerning the lawfulness of matching with heathens and idolaters, and whether the Cingalese marriage were any better than living in whoredom, there being no Christian priests to join them together; and it being allowed by their laws, to change their wives and take others, as often as they pleased.

But these cases we solved for our own advantage, after this manner, "that we were but flesh and blood;" and that it is said "it is better to marry than to burn;" and that, "as far as we could see, we were cut off from all marriages anywhere else, even for our lifetime, and therefore that we must marry with these or with none at all: and when the people in Scripture were forbidden to take wives of strangers, it was then when they might intermarry with their own people, and so no necessity lay on them; and that when they could not, there are examples in the Old Testament upon record, that they took wives of the daughters of the land, wherein they dwelt."

These reasons being urged, there were none among us, that could object ought against them: especially if those that were minded to marry women here did take them for their wives during their lives; as some of them say they do, and most of the women they marry are such as do profess themselves to be Christians.

As for mine own part, however lawful these marriages might be, yet I judged it far more convenient for me to abstain, and that it more redounded to my good, having always a reviving hope in me that my GOD had not forsaken me, but that according to his gracious promise to the Jews in the 30th chapter of Deuteronomy, and the beginning, "would turn my captivity, and bring me into the land of my fathers." These and such like meditations, together with my prayers to GOD, kept me from that unequal yoke of unbelievers; which several of my countrymen and fellow-prisoners put themselves under.

By this time, our people, having plied their business hard, had almost knit themselves out of work; and now caps were become a very dead commodity, which were the chief stay they had heretofore to trust to. So that now, most of them betook themselves to other employments: some to husbandry, ploughing ground, and sowing rice and keeping cattle; others distilled arrack to sell: others went about the country a trading. For that which one part of the land affords is a good commodity to carry to another that wants it. And thus, with the help of a little allowance, they make a shift to subsist. Most of their wives spin cotton yarn; which is a great help to them for clothing; and, at spare times, also knit.

After this manner, by the blessing of GOD, our nation hath lived and still doth, in as good a fashion as any other people or nation whatsoever that are strangers there, or as any of the natives themselves: the grandees and courtiers only excepted. This I speak to the praise and glory of our GOD, who loves the stranger in giving him food and raiment; and that hath been pleased to give us favour and a good repute in the sight of our enemies. We cannot complain for want of justice in any wrongs we have sustained by the people, or that our cause hath been discountenanced: but rather that we have been favoured above the natives themselves.

One of our men happened to be beaten by a neighbour. At which, we were very much concerned, taking it as a reproach to our nation; and fearing that it might embolden others to do the like by the rest of us: therefore, with joint consent, we all concluded to go to the Court to complain, and to desire satisfaction from the Adigar. Which we did. Upon this, the man who had beaten the Englishman was summoned

in, to appear before him: who, seeing so many of us there and fearing the cause would go very hard with him, to make the judge his friend, gave him a bribe. He having received it, would have shifted off the punishment from the malefactor: but we, day after day, followed him from house to Court and from place to place, wherever he went; demanding justice and satisfaction for the wrong we had received, and showing the black and blue blows upon the Englishman's shoulders to all the rest of the noblemen at Court. He, fearing therefore lest the King might be made acquainted therewith, was forced —though much against his will—to clap the Cingalese in chains. In which condition, after he had got him; he released him not, till besides the former fee, he had given him another.

Lately [*i.e.* about 1678], was RICHARD VARNHAM taken into the King's service, and held as honourable employment as ever any Christian had, in my time; being Commander of 970 soldiers, and set over all the great guns; and besides this several towns were put under him. A place of no less profit than honour. The King gave him an excellent silver sword and halbert, the like to which the King never gave to any white man in my time. But he had the good luck to die a natural death: for had not that prevented, in all probability he should have followed the two Englishmen spoken of before, that served him.

Some years since, some of our nation took up arms under the King: which happened on this occasion. The Hollanders had a small fort in the King's country, called Bibligom fort. This the King minding to take and demolish, sent his army to besiege it; but it was pretty strong: for there were about ninety Dutchmen in it besides a good number of black soldiers; and it had four guns, on each point of the compass one. Being in this condition, it held out.

Some of the great men informed the King of several Dutch runaways in his land that might be trusted, as not daring to turn again, for fear of the gallows; who might help to reduce the fort: and that also there were white men of other nations that had wives and children from whom they would not run; and that these might do him good service. Unto this advice the King inclined. Whereupon the King made a declaration to invite the foreign nations into his service against

Bibligom fort, that he would compel none, but that such as were willing of their own free accord, the King would take it kindly, and they should be well rewarded.

Now there entered into the King's service upon this expedition, some of all nations; both Portuguese, Dutch, and English; about the number of thirty. To all that took arms, he gave the value of twenty shillings in money, and three pieces of calico for clothes: and commanded them to wear breeches, hats, and doublets; a great honour there. The King intended a Dutchman, who had been an old servant to him, to be captain over them all: but the Portuguese not caring to be under the command of a Dutchman, desired a captain of their own nation; which the King granted, studying to please them at this time. But the English, being but six, were too few to have a captain over them; and so were forced some to serve under the Dutch, and some under the Portuguese captain. There were no more of the English, because being left at their liberty, they thought it safest to dwell at home; and cared not much to take arms under a heathen against Christians.

They were all ready to go, their arms and amunition ready, with guns prepared to send down; but before they went, tidings came that the fort yielded at the King's mercy. After this, the whites thought they had got an advantage of the King, in having these gifts for nothing: but the King did not intend to part with them so, but kept them to watch at his gate; and now they are reduced to great poverty and necessity.

For since the King's first gift, they have never received any pay or allowance: though they have often made their addresses to him to supply their wants; signifying their forwardness to serve him faithfully. He speaks them fair, and tells them he will consider them; but does not in the least regard them. Many of them since, after three or four years' service, have been glad to get other poor runaway Dutchmen to serve in their steads; giving them as much money and clothes as they received from the King before, that so they might get free to come home to their wives and children.

The Dutch captain would afterwards have forced the rest of the English to have come under him, and called them

"traitors," because they would not; and threatened them: but they scorned him and bid him do his worst, and would never be persuaded to be soldiers under him; saying, that "it was not so much his zeal to the King's service, as his own pride to make himself greater, by having more men under him."

I will now turn to the progress of my own story.

It was now about the year 1672. I related before, that my family was reduced to two, myself and one honest man more. We lived solitarily and contented, being well settled in a good house of my own. Now we fell to breeding up goats. We begun with two, but, by the blessing of GOD, they soon came to a good many; and their flesh served us instead of mutton. We kept hens and hogs also. And seeing no sudden likelihood of liberty, we went about to make all things handsome and convenient about us; which might be serviceable to us while we lived there, and might further our liberty, whensoever we should see an occasion to attempt it: which it did, in taking away all suspicion from the people concerning us; who—not having wives as the others had—they might well think, lay the readier to take any advantage to make an escape. Which indeed we two did plot and consult about between ourselves, with all imaginable privacy, long before we could go away: and therefore we laboured, by all means, to hide our designs, and to free them from so much as suspicion.

We had now brought our house and ground to such a perfection, that few noblemen's seats in the land could excel us. On each side was a great thorn gate for entrance, which is the manner of that country. The gates of the city are of the same. We built also another house in the yard, all open for air; for ourselves to sit in, or any neighbours that came to talk with us. For seldom should we be alone; our neighbours oftener frequenting our house than we desired: out of whom to be sure, we could pick no profit; for their coming was always either to beg or to borrow. For although we were strangers and prisoners in their land, yet they would confess that Almighty GOD had dealt far more bountifully with us than with them, in that we had a far greater plenty of all things than they.

I now began to set up a new trade. For the trade of knitting was grown dead: and husbandry I could not follow,

not having a wife to help and assist me therein; a great part of husbandry properly belonging to the woman to manage. Whereupon I perceived a trade in use among them, which was to lend out corn: the benefit of which was fifty per cent. per annum. This I saw to be the easiest and most profitable way of living: whereupon I took in hand to follow it; and what stock I had, I converted into corn or rice in the husk. And now as customers came for corn, I let them have it; to receive back at their next harvest, when their own corn was ripe, the same quantity I had lent them, and half as much more. But as the profit is great, so is the trouble of getting it in also. For he that useth this trade must watch when the debtor's field is ripe and claim his due in time; otherwise other creditors coming before him, will seize all upon the account of their debts, and leave no corn at all for those that come later. For these that come thus a borrowing, generally carry none of their corn home when it is ripe: for their creditors ease them of that labour, by coming into their fields and taking it; and commonly they have not half enough to pay what they owe. So that they that miss getting their debts this year, must stay till the next; when it will be doubled, two measures for one; but the interest never runs up higher, though the debt lies seven years unpaid. By means thereof I was put to a great deal of trouble; and was forced to watch early and late to get in my debts, and many times missed of them after all my pains. Howbeit when my stock did increase so that I had dealings with many; it mattered not if I lost in some places; the profit of the rest was sufficient to bear that out.

And thus, by the blessing of GOD, my little was increased to a great deal. For He had blessed me so, that I was able to lend to my enemies; and had no need to borrow of them: so that I might use the words of JACOB, not out of pride of myself, but thankfulness to GOD, "that He brought me hither with my staff, and blessed me so here, that I became two bands."

For some years together after I had removed to my own house from Lagoondenia, the people from whence I came continued my allowance, that I had when I lived among them; but now in plain terms, they told me "they could give it to me no more; and that I was better able to live without

it, than they to give it me:" which though I knew to be true, yet I thought not fit to lose that portion of allowance, which the King was pleased to allow me. Therefore I went to Court and appealed to the Adigar, to whom such matters did belong: who upon consideration of the people's poor condition, appointed me monthly to come to him at the King's palace for a ticket to receive my allowance out of the King's storehouses.

Hereby I was brought into a great danger; out of which I had much ado to escape, and that with the loss of my allowance for ever after. I shall relate the manner of it in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.

How the Author had like to have been received into the King's service, and what means he used to avoid it. He meditates and attempts an escape; but is often prevented.

HIS frequent appearance at the Court, and waiting there for my tickets; brought me to be taken notice of by the great men, insomuch "that they wondered I had been all this while forgotten, and never been brought before the King; being so fit, as they would suppose me, for his use and service;" saying, "that from henceforward I should fare better than that allowance amounted to; as soon as the King was made acquainted with me." Which words of theirs served instead of a ticket. Whereupon fearing that I should suddenly be brought in to the King, which thing I most of all feared and least desired; and hoping that out of sight might prove out of mind, I resolved to forsake the Court, and never more to ask for tickets: especially seeing GOD had dealt so bountifully with me as to give me ability to live well enough without them: as when Israel had eaten of the corn of the land of Canaan, the manna ceased; so when I was driven to forego my allowance that had all this while sustained me in this wilderness, GOD in other ways provided for me.

From this time forward to the time of my flight out of the land, which was five years; I neither had nor demanded any more allowance: and glad I was that I could escape so.

But I must have more trouble first. For, some four or five days after my last coming from Court, there came a soldier to me, sent from the Adigar, with an order in writing under his hand, "that upon sight thereof, I should immediately dispatch and come to the Court, to make my personal appearance before the King: and that in case of any delay, the officers of the country were thereby authorized and commanded to

assist the bearer, and to see the same order speedily performed."

The chief occasion of this, had been a person, not long before my near neighbour and acquaintance, OWA MATTERAL by name, who knew my manner of life, and had often been at my house; but now was taken in and employed at Court: and he out of friendship and goodwill to me, was one of the chief actors in this business, that he might bring me to preferment at Court.

Upon the abovesaid summons, there was no remedy, but to Court I must go. Where I first applied myself to my said old neighbour, OWA MATTERAL, who was the occasion of sending for me. I signified to him "that I was come in obedience to the warrant, and I desired to know the reason why I was sent for." To which he answered, "Here is good news for you. Your are to appear in the King's presence, where you will find great favour and honourable entertainment; far more than any of your countrymen yet have found." Which the great man thought would be a strong inducement to persuade me joyfully to accept of the King's employments. But this was the thing I always most dreaded, and endeavoured to shun; knowing that being taken into Court would be a means to cut off all hopes of liberty from me; which was the thing that I esteemed as equal unto life itself.

Seeing myself brought into this pass, wherein I had no earthly helper, I recommended my cause to GOD; desiring Him in whose hands are the hearts of kings and princes, to divert the business: and my cause being just and right, I was resolved to persist in a denial. My case seemed to me to be like that of the four lepers at the gate of Samaria. No avoiding of death for me. If out of ambition and honour, I should have embraced the King's service; besides the depriving myself of all hopes of liberty, in the end I must be put to death, as happens to all that serve him: and to deny his service, could be but death; and it seemed to me, to be the better death of the two. For if I should be put to death, only because I refused his service; I should be pitied as one that died innocently: but if I should be executed in his service, however innocent I was, I should be certainly reckoned a rebel and a traitor; as they all are, whom he commands to be cut off.

Upon these considerations, having thus set my resolutions, as GOD enabled me, I returned him this answer. "First, that the English nation to whom I belonged, had never done any violence or wrong to their King, either in word or deed. Secondly, that the causes of my coming on their land was not like that of other nations, who were either enemies taken in war; or such as by reason of poverty or distress, were driven to sue for relief, out of the King's bountiful liberality; or such as fled for the fear of deserved punishment: whereas, as they all well knew, I came not upon any of these causes, but on account of trade; and came ashore to receive the King's orders, which by notice we understood were come concerning us, and to render an account to the Dissauva of the reasons and occasions of our coming into the King's port. And that by the grief and sorrow I had undergone, by being so long detained from my native country—but, for which I thanked the King's majesty, without want of anything—I scarcely enjoyed myself: for my heart was always absent from my body." Hereunto adding, my insufficiency and inability for such honourable employment; being subject to many infirmities and diseases of body.

To this he replied, "Cannot you read and write English? servile labour the King requireth not of you."

I answered, "When I came ashore I was but young, and that which I then knew, now I had forgotten for want of practice; having had neither ink nor paper ever since I came ashore." I urged moreover "that it was contrary to the custom and practice of all kings and princes upon the earth, to keep and detain men that came into their countries upon such peaceable accounts as we did; much less to compel them to serve them, beyond their power and ability."

At my first coming before him, he looked very pleasingly, and spake with a smiling countenance to me; but now his smiles were turned into frowns, and his pleasing looks into bended brows: and in rough language, he bade me begone, and tell my tale to the Adigar. Which immediately I did; but he being busy, did not much regard me: and I was glad of it, that I might absent myself from the Court; but I durst not go out of the city [of Digligy]. Sore afraid I was, that evil would befall me; and the best I could expect, was to be put in chains. All my refuge was in prayer to GOD, "whose

hand was not shortened that it could not save:" and "would make all things work together for good to them that trust in Him." From Him only did I expect help and deliverance in that time of need.

In this manner, I lodged in an Englishman's house that dwelt in the city, ten days: maintaining myself at my own charge, waiting with a sorrowful heart and daily expecting to hear my doom. In the meantime my countrymen and acquaintance: some of them blamed me for refusing so fair a proffer, whereby I might not only have lived well myself, but also have been helpful unto my poor countrymen and friends; others of them pitying me, suspecting, as I did, nothing but a wrathful sentence from so cruel a tyrant, if GOD did not prevent it. And RICHARD VARNHAM—who was, at this time, a great man about the King—was not a little scared to see me run the hazard of what might ensue; rather than be partaker with him in the felicities of the Court.

It being chargeable thus to lie at the city, and hearing nothing more of my business; I took leave without asking, and went home to my house, which was but a day's distance to get some victuals to carry with me, and to return again. But soon after I came home, I was sent for again; so I took my load of victuals with me, and arrived at the city: but went not to the Court but to my former lodging; where I stayed as formerly, until I had spent all my provisions. And by the good hand of my GOD upon me; I never heard any more of that matter. Neither came I any more into the presence of the great men at Court; but dwelt in my own plantation, upon what GOD provided for me by my labour and industry.

For now I returned to my former course of life: dressing my victuals daily with my own hands, and fetching both wood and water upon mine own back. And this, for ought I could see to the contrary, I was likely to continue for my lifetime. This I could do for the present; but I began to consider how helpless I should be, if it should please GOD that I should live till I grew old and feeble. So I entered upon a consultation with myself for the providing against this. One way was, the getting of me a wife; but that I was resolved never to do. Then I began to inquire for some poor body to live with me; to dress my victuals for me, that

I might live at a little more ease: but could not find any to my mind. Whereupon I considered that there was no better way, than to take one of my poor countrymen's children, whom I might bring up to learn both my own language and religion: and this might be not only charity to the child; but a kindness to myself also afterwards. And several there were that would be glad so to be eased of their charge, having more than they could well maintain. A child therefore I took, by whose aptness, ingenuity and company, as I was much delighted at present; so afterwards I hoped to be served.

It was now about the year 1673. Although I had now lived many years in this land, and, GOD be praised! I wanted for nothing the land afforded; yet I could not forget my native country, England, and lamented under the famine of GOD's Word and Sacraments: the want whereof I found greater than all earthly wants, and my daily and fervent prayers to GOD were, in His good time, to restore me to the enjoyment of them.

I and my companion [STEPHEN RUTLAND] were still meditating upon our escape, and the means to compass it: which our pedling about the country did greatly promote. For speaking well the language, and going with our commodities from place to place; we used often to entertain discourse with the country people, namely, concerning the ways and the countries; and where there were most and fewest inhabitants; and where and how the Watches laid from one country [*district*] to another; and what commodities were proper to carry from one part to the other: pretending we would, from time to time, go from one place to another to furnish ourselves with the wares that the respective places afforded. None doubted but that we had made these inquiries for the sake of our trade; but ourselves had other designs in them: neither was there the least suspicion of us, for these our questions; all supposing I would never run away and leave such an estate as in their accounts and esteem I had.

By diligent inquiry, I had come to understand that the easiest and most probable way to make an escape, was by travelling to the northward: that part of the land being least inhabited. Therefore we furnished ourselves with such wares as were vendible in those parts, as tobacco, pepper, garlic, combs, all sorts of iron ware, &c: and being laden with these

things; we two set forth, bending our course towards the northern parts of the island, knowing very little of the way. And the ways of this country generally are intricate and difficult, there being no great highways that run through the land; but a multitude of little paths, some from one town to another, some into the fields, and some into the woods where they sow their corn: and the whole country is covered with woods, so that a man cannot see anything but just before him. And that which makes them most difficult of all is, that the ways shift and alter: new ways being often made and old ways stopped up. For they cut down woods, and sow the ground: and having got one crop off from it, they leave it; and the wood soon grows over it again. And in case a road went through those woods, they stop it, and contrive another way; neither do they regard though it goes two or three miles about. And to ask and inquire the way, was very dangerous for us white men: it occasioning the people to suspect us. And the Cingalese themselves never travel in countries [*districts*] where they are not experienced, without a guide, it being so difficult: and there was no getting a guide to conduct us down to the sea.

But we made a shift to travel from Conde Uda downwards towards the north, from town to town; happening at a place, at last, which I knew before: having been brought up formerly from Coswat that way, to descend the hill called Bocaul; where there is no Watch but in time of great disturbance. Thus, by the providence of God, we passed all difficulties until we came into the country of Nuweeracalava; which are the lowest parts that belong to the King; and some three days' journey from the place whence we came [viz. *Elledat.*]

We were not a little glad that we were gotten so far onwards in our way, but yet at this time we could go no further; for our wares were all sold, and we could pretend no more excuses: and also we had been out so long that it might cause our townsmen to come and look after us; it being the first time that we had been so long absent from home.

In this manner, we went into these northern parts, eight or ten times; and once got as far as Hourly, a town in the

extremities of the King's dominions: but yet we could not attain our purpose. For this northern country being much subject to dry weather, and having no springs; we were fain to drink of the ponds of rain water, wherein the cattle lie and tumble: which would be so thick and muddy that the very filth of it would hang in our beards when we drank. This did not agree with our bodies, we being used to drink pure spring water only: by which means, when we first used to visit those parts, we used often to be sick of violent fevers and agues when we came home. Which diseases happened not only to us, but to all other people that dwelt upon the mountains, as we did, whensoever they went down into those places; and commonly the major part of those that fell sick, died. At which the Cingalese were so scared, that it was very seldom that they did adventure their bodies down thither. Neither, truly, would I have done it, were it not for those future hopes; which GOD of His mercy, did at length accomplish. For both of us smarted sufficiently by those severe fevers we got, so that we should both lay sick together, and one not able to help the other: insomuch that our countrymen and neighbours used to ask us, if we went thither purposing to destroy ourselves; they little thinking, and we not daring to tell them of our intent and design.

At length we learned an antidote and counterpoison against the filthy venomous water; which so operated, by the blessing of GOD, that after use thereof, we had no more sickness. It is only a dry leaf—they call it in Portuguese *Banga*—beaten to powder with some of the country's *Jaggery*. And this we ate morning and evening, upon an empty stomach. It intoxicates the brain, and makes one giddy; without any other operation, either by stool or vomit.

Thus every voyage [*journey*] we gathered more experience and got lower down; for this is a large and spacious country. We travelled to and fro where the ways led us; according to their own proverb, *The beggar and the merchant are never out of the way;* because the one begs and the other trades wherever they go. Thus we used to ramble until we had sold all our wares; and then went home for more: and by these means, we grew acquainted both with the people and the paths.

In these parts, I met with my black boy, whom I had divers years before turned away; who had now a wife and

children. He proved a great help to me in directing me in the ways; for he had lived many years in these parts. Perceiving him to be able, and also in a very poor and sad condition, not able to maintain his family; I adventured once to ask him if a good reward would not be welcome to him, for guiding us two down to the Dutch; which having done, he might return, and nobody be the wiser. At which proposition he seemed to be very joyful, and promised to undertake the same: only at this time, for reasons he alleged, which to me seemed probable, as that it was harvest time and many people about; it could not so safely and conveniently be done now, as it might be, some two months after.

The business was concluded upon, and the time appointed between us: but it so fell out, that at the very precise time, all things being ready to depart on the morrow; it pleased GOD—whose time was not yet come—to strike me with a most grievous pain in the hollow on my right side, that for five days together I was not able to stir from the fireside; but by warming it and fomenting and chafing it, I got a little ease.

Afterward, as soon as I was recovered and had got strength, we went down, and carried one Englishman more with us for company, for our better security; seeing that we must travel by night upon our flight: but though we took him with us, we dared not to tell him of our design, because he had a wife; intending not to acquaint him with it, till the business was just ready to be put into action. But when we came, expecting to meet with our guide; he was gone into another country: and we knew not where to find him or how to run away without him. Thus we were disappointed that time.

But, as formerly, we went to and fro, until we had sold our ware; and so returned home again, and delivered the man to his wife: but never told him anything of our intended design, fearing lest if he knew it he might acquaint her with it; and so all our purposes coming to be revealed, might be overthrown for ever afterwards. For we were resolved, by GOD's help still to persevere in our design.

Some eight or nine years, one after another, we followed this trade, going into this country on purpose to seek to get beyond the inhabitants; and so to run away through the

woods to the Hollanders. Three or four years together, the weather prevented us, when the country was almost starved [*parched*] for want of rain; all which time they never tilled the ground. The wells also were almost all dry, so that in the towns we could scarcely get water to drink or victuals to eat; which affrighted us, at those times, from running into the woods, lest we might perish for thirst. All this while upon the mountains, where our dwelling was, there was no want of rain.

We found it an inconvenience when we came three of us down together; reckoning it might give occasion to the people to suspect our design, and so to prevent us from going thither again. Some of the English as followed such a trade as we did, had been down that way with their commodities: but having felt the smart of that country's sickness, would go there no more; finding as much profit in nearer and easier journeys. But we still persisted in our courses this way, having some greater matter to do here than to sell wares, viz. to find out this Northern Discovery: which, in GOD'S good time, we did effect.

CHAPTER IX.

How the Author began his escape, and got onward of his way, about an hundred miles.

Aving often gone this way to seek for liberty, but could not yet find it; we again set forth, to try what success GOD Almighty would now give us, in the year 1679, on the 22nd of September; furnished with such arms as we could well carry with safety and secrecy, which were knives and small axes: we carried also several sorts of ware to sell as formerly. The moon being seven and twenty days old; which we had so contrived, that we might have a light moon, to see the better to run away by: having left an old man at home, whom I had hired to live with me, to look after my house and goats.

We went down at the hill Bocaul, where there was now no Watch; and but seldom any. From thence, down to the town of Bonder Coswat, where my father died. And by the town of Nicavar, which is the last town belonging to Hotkorle in that road. From thenceforward, the towns stand thin: for it was sixteen miles to the next town, called Parroah, which lay in the country of Nuwerakalawe; and all the way through a wilderness called Parroah Mocolane, full of wild elephants tigers and bears.

Now we set our design for Anuradhapoora, which is the lowest place inhabited belonging to the kingdom of Kandy; where there is a Watch always kept: and nearer than twelve or fourteen miles of this town, as yet, we had never been.

When we came into the midst of this country, we heard that the Governor thereof had sent officers from the Court to dispatch away the King's revenues and duties to the city [of Digligy], and that they were now come into the country: which put us into no small fear, lest if they saw us, they should send us back again. Wherefore we edged away into the westernmost parts of Ecpoulpot, being a remote part of that country, wherein we now were: and there we sat knitting, until we

heard they were gone. But this caused us to overshoot our time, the moon spending so fast. As soon as we heard that they were departed out of the country, we went onwards of our journey, having kept most of our wares for a pretence to have an occasion to go further; and having bought a good parcel of cotton yarn to knit caps withal: the rest of our wares, we gave out, was to buy dried flesh with, which only in those lower parts is to be sold.

Our way now lay, necessarily, through the chief Governor's yard at Colliwilla [? *Kalluvilla*]; who dwells there purposely to see and examine all that go and come. This greatly distressed us. First, because he was a stranger to us and one whom we had never seen: and secondly, because there was no other way to escape him; and plain reason would tell him that we, being prisoners, were without our bounds. Whereupon we concluded that our best way would be, to go boldly and resolutely to his house; and not to seem daunted in the least or to look as if we did distrust him to disallow our journey: but to show such a behaviour, as if we had authority to travel where we would.

So we went forward, and were forced to inquire and ask the way to his house, having never been so far this way before. I brought from home with me, knives with fine carved handles and a red Tunis cap, purposely to sell or give to him if occasion required: knowing before, that we must pass by him. And all along as we went, that we might be the less suspected, we sold caps and other wares; to be paid for at our return homewards.

There were many cross paths to and fro, to his house; yet by GOD's providence, we happened in the right road. And having reached his house, according to the country's manner, we went and sat down in the open house; which kind of houses are built on purpose for the reception of strangers. Whither, not long after, the great man himself came and sat down by us; to whom we presented a small parcel of tobacco, and some betel. And before he asked us the cause of our coming; we showed him the wares we brought for him, and the cotton yarn we had trucked about the country, telling him withal, how the case stood with us, viz: "That we had a charge greater than the King's allowance would maintain, and that because dried flesh was the chief

commodity of that part;" we told him "that missing of the lading which we used to carry back, we were glad to come thither to see if we could make it up with dried flesh: and therefore if he would please to supply us—either for such wares as we had brought or else for our money—it would be a great favour; the which would oblige us for the future to bring him any necessaries that he should name unto us, when we should come again into those parts, as we used to do very often; and that we could furnish him, having dealings and being acquainted with the best artificers in Kandy."

At which he replied, "That he was sorry we were come at such a dry time, when they could not catch deer; but if some rain fell, he would soon dispatch us with some ladings of flesh: but however he bade us go about the towns and see whether there might be any or not, though he thought there was none." This answer of his pleased us wondrously well; both because by this we saw he suspected us not, and because he told us there was no dried flesh to be got. For it was one of our greatest fears that we should get our lading too soon; for then we could not have had an excuse to go further: and as yet we could not possibly fly; having still six miles further to the northward to go, before we could attempt it, that is, to Anuradhapoora.

From Anuradhapoora, it is two days' journey further through a desolate wilderness, before there are any more inhabitants: and these inhabitants are neither under this King nor the Dutch; but are Malabars, and are under a Prince of their own. This people we were sorely afraid of, lest they might seize us and send us back: there being a correspondence between this Prince and the King of Kandy: wherefore it was our endeavour by all means to shun them, lest, according to the old proverb, we might leap out of the fryingpan into the fire.

But we must take care of that as well as we could, when we came among them; for as yet our care was to get to Anuradhapoora, where although it was our desire to get, yet we would not seem to be too hasty, lest it might occasion suspicion, but lay where we were two or three days: and one stayed at the Governor's house a knitting; whilst the other went about among the towns to see for flesh. The ponds in

the country being now dry, there was fish everywhere in abundance; which they dry like red herrings over a fire. They offered to sell us a store of them; "but they," we told them, "would not turn to so good profit as flesh." "The which," we said, "we would have, though we stayed ten days longer for it. For here we could live as cheap, and earn as much as if we were at home, by our knitting." So we seemed to them as if we were not in any haste.

In the meantime happened an accident which put us to a great fright. For the King, having newly clapped up several persons of quality (whereof my old neighbour OWA MOTTERAL that sent for me to Court, was one) sent down soldiers to this High Sheriff or Governor at whose house we now were, to give him order to set a secure guard at the Watches that no suspicious persons might pass. This he did to prevent the relations of these imprisoned persons from making an escape; who—through fear of the King—might attempt it. This always is the King's custom to do. But it put us into an exceeding fear lest it might beget an admiration [*wonderment*] in these soldiers to see white men so low down the country; which indeed is not customary nor allowed of; and so they might send us up again. Which doubtless they would have done; had it not been of GOD by this means and after this manner to deliver us. Especially considering that the King's command came just at that time, and so expressly to keep a secure guard at the Watches, and that in that very way that always we purposed to go in; so that it seemed scarcely possible for us to pass afterwards: though we should get off fairly at present with the soldiers. Which we did. For they having delivered their message, departed; showing themselves very kind and civil unto us: and we seemed to lament for our hard fortune, that we were not ready to go upwards with them, in their good company: for we were neighbours dwelling in one and the same country. However we bade them carry our commendations to our countrymen the English—with whom they were acquainted at the city—and so bade them farewell. And glad we were when they were gone from us: and we resolved, GOD willing, to set forward the next day in the morning.

But we thought not fit to tell our host, the Governor, of it, till the very instant of our departure; that he might not have

any time to deliberate concerning us. That night, he, being disposed to be merry, sent for people whose trade it is to dance and show tricks, to come to his house, to entertain him with their sports. The beholding of them spent most part of the night: which we merely called our old host's civility to us at our last parting; as it proved indeed, though he, honest man, then little dreamed of any such thing.

The morning being come, we first took care to fill our bellies; then we packed up those things which were necessary for our journey to carry with us; and the rest of our goods—cotton yarn, cloth, and other things—that we would not incumber ourselves withal, we bound up in a bundle, intending to leave them behind us. This being done, I went to the Governor, and carried to him four or five charges of gunpowder, a thing somewhat scarce with them; intreating him rather than that we should be disappointed of flesh; to make use of that and shoot some deer—which he was very willing to accept of; and to us it could be no ways profitable, not having a gun—while we, we told him, "would make a step to Anuradhapoora to see what flesh we could procure there." In the meantime, according as we had before laid the business, came STEPHEN RUTLAND with the bundle of goods, desiring to leave them in his house, till we came back: which he was very ready to grant us leave to do. And seeing us leave such a parcel of goods—though, GOD knows, but of little account in themselves, yet of considerable value in that land—he could not suppose otherwise but that we were intending to return again. Thus we took our leave and immediately departed, not giving him time again to consider with himself, or to consult with others about us: and he, like a good-natured man, bade us heartily farewell.

Although we knew not the way to this town—having never been there in all our lives; and durst not ask, lest it might breed suspicion—yet we went on confidently through a desolate wood; and happened to go very right, and came out directly at the place.

But in our way, before we arrived thither, we came up with a small river, which ran through the woods, called by the Cingalese, Malwatta Oya: the which we viewed well and judged it might be a probable guide to carry us down to the sea; if a better did not present itself. However we thought

good to try first the way we were taking, and to go onwards towards Anuradhapoora, that being the shortest and easiest way to get to the coast, and this river, being as under our lee, ready to serve and assist us, if other means failed.

To Anuradhapoora, called also Neur Wang, therefore we came; which is not so much a particular single town, as a territory. It is a vast great plain—the like of which I never saw in all that island—in the midst whereof is a lake, which may be a mile over; not natural, but made by art as are the other ponds in the country, to serve them to water their corn grounds. This plain is encompassed round with woods, and small towns among them on every side inhabited by Malabars, a distinct race from the Cingalese: but these towns we could not see, till we came in among them.

Being come through the woods into this plain, we stood looking and staring round about us: but knew not where nor which way to go. At length, we heard a cock crow, which was a sure sign to us that there was a town hard by; into which we were resolved to enter. For standing thus amazed was the ready way to be taken up for suspicious persons; especially because white men never came down so low.

Being entered into the town, we sat ourselves under a tree, and proclaimed our wares: for we feared to rush into their yards as we used to do in other places, lest we should scare them. The people stood amazed, as soon as they saw us; being originally Malabars, though subjects of Kandy: nor could they understand the Cingalese language in which we spake to them. And we stood looking one upon another, until there came one that could speak the Cingalese tongue, who asked us, "From whence we came?" We told him from Conde Uda: but they believed us not, supposing that we came up from the Dutch, from Manaar. So they brought us before their Governor. He not speaking Cingalese, spake to us by an interpreter; and to know the truth whether we came from the place we pretended, he inquired about the news at Court: and demanded "who were Governors of such and such countries?" and "What was become of some certain noblemen?" (whom the King had lately cut off) and also "What the common people were employed about at Court?" for it is seldom that they are idle. To all which, we gave satisfactory answers. Then he inquired of us "Who gave us leave to

come down so low?" We told him, "That privilege was given to us by the King himself full fifteen years since at his palace at Nellembe; when he caused it to be declared unto us that we were no longer prisoners, and," which indeed was our own addition, "that we were free to enjoy the benefit of trade in all his dominions."

To prove and confirm the truth of which, we alleged the distance of the way that we were now come from home, being nearly an hundred miles, passing through several counties, where we met with several Governors and Officers in their respective jurisdictions; who, had they not been well sensible of these privileges granted to us, would not have allowed us to pass through their countries [*districts*]. All which Officers we described to them by name. And also that now we came from the High Sheriff's house at Colliwilla, where we had been these three days, and there heard of the order that was come to secure the Watches; which was not for fear of the running away of white men, but of the Cingalese. These reasons gave him full satisfaction, that we were innocent traders: seeing also the commodities that we had brought with us; this further confirmed his opinion concerning us.

The people were very glad of our coming, and gave us an end of an open house to lie in: but at present they had no dried flesh, but desired us to stay two or three days, and we should not fail: which we were very ready to consent to, hoping by that time to come to the knowledge of the way, and to learn where about the Watch was placed. To prevent the least surmise that we were plotting to run away; we agreed that STEPHEN RUTLAND should stay in the house by the things; while I, with some few of them, went abroad, pretending to inquire for dried flesh to carry back with us to Kandy, but intending to make discoveries of the way, and to provide necessaries for our flight, as rice, a brass pot to boil our rice in, a little dried flesh to eat, and a deerskin to make us shoes of. And by the providence of my gracious GOD, all these things I happened upon, and bought: but, as our good hap was, of deer's flesh we could meet with none. So that we had time enough to fit ourselves; all people thinking that we stayed only to buy flesh.

Here we stayed three days. During which, we had found the great road that runs down towards Jaffnapatam, one of

the northern ports belonging to the Dutch: which road, we judged led also towards Manaar, a Dutch northern port also, which was the place that we endeavoured to get to; it lying about two or three days' journey distant from us. But in this road there was a Watch laid which must be passed. Where this Watch was placed, it was necessary for us punctually [*precisely*] to know, and to endeavour to get a sight of it: and if we could do this, our intent was to go unseen by night —the people being then afraid to travel—and being come up to the Watch, to slip aside into the woods, and so go on until we were passed it; and then to strike into the road again. But this project came to nothing, because I could not without suspicion and danger, go and view this Watch; which lay some four or five miles below this plain: and so far I could not frame any business to go.

But several inconveniences we saw here. insomuch that we found it would not be safe for us to go down in this road. For if we should have slipped away from them by night; in the morning, we should be missed: and then most surely, they would go that way to chase us; and, ten to one, overtake us, being but one night before them. Also we knew not whether or not, it might lead us into the country of the Malabar Prince; of whom we were much afraid.

Then resolving to let the great road alone, we thought of going right down through the woods, and steer our course by the sun and moon; but the ground being so dry, we feared we should not meet with water. So we declined that counsel also.

Thus being in doubt, we prayed to GOD to direct us, and to put it into our heads which way to take. Then, after a consultation between ourselves, all things considered, we concluded it to be the best course to go back to Malwatta Oya; the river that we had well viewed, and that lay in our way as we came hither.

CHAPTER X.

The Author's progress in his flight from Anuradhapoora into the woods; until their arrival in the Malabars' country.

OW GOD, of His mercy, having prospered our design hitherto, for which we blessed His holy name; our next care was how to come off clear from the people of Anuradhapoora, that they might not presently miss us, and so pursue after us: which if they should do, there would have been no escaping them. For from this town to Colliwilla—where the Sheriff lived, with whom we left our goods—they were as well acquainted in the woods as in the paths: and when we came away, we must tell the people that we were going thither; because there was no other way but that. Now our fear was lest upon some occasion or other, any men might chance to travel that way soon after we were gone; and not finding us at Colliwilla might conclude, as they could do no otherwise, that we were run into the woods. Therefore to avoid this danger, we stayed in the town till it was so late that we knew that none durst venture to travel afterwards, for fear of wild beasts. By which means we were sure to gain a night's travel, at least: if they should chance to pursue us.

So we took our leaves of the Governor, who kindly gave us a pot of milk to drink, for a farewell: we telling him, "We were returning back to the Sheriff at Colliwilla, to whom we had given some gunpowder when we came from him, to shoot us some deer: and we doubted not but by that time we should get to him, he would have provided flesh enough for our lading home." Thus bidding him and the rest of the neighbours farewell, we departed: they giving us the civility of their accustomed prayers; *Diabac*, that is, "God bless or keep you."

It was now the 12th day of October on a Sunday, the moon eighteen days old. We were well furnished with all things needful, which we could get, viz.—ten days' provisions, rice,

flesh, fish, pepper, salt; a basin to boil our victuals in; two calabashes to fetch water; two great Tallipat [leaves] for tents, big enough to sleep under, if it should rain; *Jaggery* and sweetmeats, which we brought from home with us; tobacco also and betel; tinder boxes, two or three for fear of failing; and a deer's skin to make us shoes, to prevent any thorns running into our feet as we travelled through the woods, for our greatest trust, under GOD, was to our feet. Our weapons were, to each man a small axe fastened to a long staff in our hands, and a good knife by our sides: which were sufficient, with GOD's help, to defend us from the assaults of either tiger or bear; and as for elephants, there is no standing against them, but the best defence is to fly from them.

In this posture and equipage we marched forward. When we were come within a mile of this river, it being about four in the evening, we began to fear lest any of the people of Anuradhapoora from whence we came, should follow us to Colliwilla; which place we never intended to come at more: the river along which we intended to go, laying on this side of it. That we might be secure therefore, that no people came after us; we sat down upon a rock by a hole that was full of water in the highway, until it was so late that we were sure no people durst travel. In case any had come after us, and seen us sitting there, and gotten no further; we intended to tell them that one of us was taken sick by the way, and therefore was not able to go on. But it was our happy chance, that there came none.

So about sundown, we took up our sacks of provisions, and marched forward for the river; which, under GOD, we had pitched upon to be our guide down to the sea.

Being come at the river; we left the road, and struck into the woods by the river side. We were exceedingly careful not to tread on the sand or soft ground, lest our footsteps should be seen: and where it could not be avoided, we went backwards; so that by the print of our feet it seemed as if we had gone the contrary way. We had now got a good way into the wood, when it grew dark and began to rain; so that we thought it best to pitch our tents, and get wood for firing before it was all wet, and too dark to find it: which we did, and kindled a fire.

Then we began to fit ourselves for our journey, against the moon rose. All our sale-wares which we had left, we cast away, for we had taken care not to sell too much; keeping only provisions, and what was very necessary for our journey. About our feet we tied pieces of deer's-hide, to prevent thorns and stumps annoying our feet. We always used to travel barefoot, but now being to travel by night and in the woods, we feared to do so: for if our feet should fail us now, we were quite undone.

And by the time we had well fitted ourselves, and were refreshed with a morsel of Portuguese sweetmeats; the moon began to shine. So having commended ourselves into the hands of the Almighty, we took up our provisions upon our shoulders and set forward, and travelled some three or four hours, but with a great deal of difficulty. For the trees being thick, the moon gave us but little light through: but our resolution was, to keep going.

Now it was our chance to meet with an elephant in our way, just before us; which we tried to, but could not scare away: so he forced us to stay. We kindled a fire and sat down; and took a pipe of tobacco, waiting till morning. Then we looked round about us, and it appeared all like a wilderness, and no signs that people ever had been there; which put us in great hopes that we had gained our passage, and were past all the inhabitants. Whereupon we concluded that we were now in no danger of being seen, and might travel in the day securely.

There was only one great road in our way, which led to Portaloon from the towns which by and by we fell into. This road therefore we were shy of; lest when we passed it over, some passengers travelling on it, might see us. And this road we were in expectance about this time, to meet withal, feeling secure, as I said before, of all other danger of people: but the river winding about to the northward, brought us into the midst of a parcel of towns, called Tissea Wava, before we were aware of it. For the country being all woods, we could not discern where there were towns until we came within the hearing of them. That which betrayed us into this danger was, that meeting with a path which only led from one town to another, we concluded it to be that great road above mentioned, and so having passed it over;

we supposed the danger we might encounter in being seen was also passed over with it: but we were mistaken, for going further we still met with other paths, which we crossed over, still hoping one or other of them was that great road; but at last we perceived our error, namely, that they were only paths that went from one town to another.

And so while we were avoiding men and towns, we ran into the midst of them. This was a great trouble to us; hearing the noise of people round about us, and not knowing how to avoid them: into whose hands we knew if we should have fallen; they would have carried us up to the King, besides beating and plundering us to boot.

We knew before, that these towns were here away: but had we known that this river turned and ran in among them; we should never have undertaken the enterprise. But now to go back, after we had newly passed so many paths, and fields, and places, where people did resort: we thought it not advisable, and that the danger in so doing might be greater than in going forward. And had we known so much then as afterwards did appear to us; it had been safer for us to have gone on, than to have hid as we did: which we then thought the best course we could take for the present extremity, viz.—to secure ourselves in secret until night, and then to run through, in the dark. All that we wanted was a hole to creep in, to lie close: for the woods thereabouts were thin, and there were no shrubs or bushes, under which we might be concealed.

We heard the noise of people on every side, and expected every moment to see some of them: to our great terror. And it is not easy to say, in what danger; and in what apprehension of it we were. It was not safe for us to stir backwards or forwards, for fearing of running among the people; and it was as unsafe to stand still, where we were, lest somebody might spy us: and where to find covert, we could not tell.

Looking about us, in these straits, we spied a great tree by us, which for the bigness thereof 'twas probable might be hollow. To which we went, and found it so. It was like a tub, some three feet high. Into it, immediately we both crept, and made a shift to sit there for several hours, though very uneasily, and all in mud and wet. But however it did great comfort us, in the fright and amazement we were in.

So soon as it began to grow dark, we came creeping out of our hollow tree; and put for it, as fast as our legs could carry us. And then we crossed that great road, which all the day before we did expect to come up with; keeping close by the river side; and going so long, till dark night stopped us.

We kept going the longer, because we heard the voice of men holloaing towards evening; which created in us a fresh disturbance: thinking them to be people that were coming to chase us. But at length; we heard elephants behind us, between us and the voice, which we knew by the noise of the cracking of the boughs and small trees which they brake down and ate. These elephants were a very good guard behind us; and were, methought, like the darkness that came between Israel and the Egyptians. For the people, we knew, would not dare to go forwards; hearing elephants before them.

In this security, we pitched our tents by the river side, and boiled rice and roasted flesh for our supper: for we were very hungry; and so, commending ourselves to GOD's keeping, we lay down to sleep. The voice which we heard still continued; which lasting so long, we knew what it meant. It was nothing but the holloaing of people that lay to watch the cornfields; to scare away the wild beasts out of their corn.

Thus we passed Monday.

But nevertheless the next morning, so soon as the moon shone out bright; to prevent the worst, we took up our packs, and were gone: being past all the tame inhabitants, with whom we had no more trouble.

But the next day, we feared we should come among the wild ones: for these woods are full of them. Of these, we were as much afraid as of the other: for they [*the tame inhabitants*] would have carried us back to the King, where we should have been kept prisoners; but these, we feared, would have shot us, not standing to hear us plead for ourselves.

And indeed all along as we went, by the sides of the river, till we came to the Malabar inhabitants; there had been the tents of wild men, made only of boughs of trees. But GOD be praised, they were all gone: though but very lately before we came; as we perceived by the bones of cattle and shells

of fruit, which lay scattered about. We supposed that want of water had driven them out of the country down to the river side; but that since it had rained a shower or two, they were gone again.

Once, about noon, sitting down upon a rock by the river side to take a pipe of tobacco and rest ourselves; we had almost been discovered by the women of these wild people: coming down, as I suppose, to wash themselves in the river; who, being many of them, came talking and laughing together. At the first hearing of the noise, being at a good distance, we marvelled what it was. Sitting still and listening; it came a little above where we sat: and at last, we could plainly distinguish it to be the voices of women and children. Whereupon we thought it no boot to sit longer, since we could escape unobserved; and so took up our bags, and fled as fast as we could.

Thus we kept travelling every day, from morning till night, still along by the river side, which turned and wound very crookedly. In some places, it would be pretty good travelling and but few bushes and thorns; in others, a great many: so that our shoulders and arms were all of a gore, being grievously torn and scratched. For we had nothing on us, but a clout round about our middles, and our victuals on our shoulders; and in our hands, a tallipat [palm leaf] and an axe.

The lower we came down this river, the less water; so that sometimes we could go a mile or two upon the sand. And in some places, three or four rivers would all meet together. When this happened so, and was noon—the sun over our head, and the water not running—we could not tell which to follow; but were forced to stay till the sun was fallen, thereby to judge our course.

We often met with bears, hogs, deer and wild buffaloes; but they all ran, so soon as they saw us: but elephants we met with no more than that I have mentioned before. The river is exceeding full of alligators all along as we went: and the upper part of it is nothing but rocks.

Here and there, by the side of this river, there is a world of hewn stone pillars, standing upright; and other heaps of hewn stones, which I suppose formerly were buildings. And in three or four places, are the ruins of bridges, built of stone; some remains of them yet standing upon stone pillars. In

many places are points built out into the river, like wharves; all of hewn stone: which I suppose have been built for kings to sit upon for pleasure; for I cannot think they ever were employed for traffic by water, the river being so full of rocks that boats could never come up into it.

The woods in all these northern parts are short and shrubbed; and so they are here by the river's side: and the lower down the river, the worse; and the grounds so also.

In the evenings we used to pitch our tent, and make a great fire, both before and behind us; that the wild beasts might have notice where we lay: and we used to hear the voices of all sorts of them; but, thanks be to GOD! none ever came near to hurt us.

Yet we were the more wary of them; because once a tiger showed us a cheat. For having bought a deer (and having nothing to salt it up in) we packed it up in the hide thereof salted, and laid it under a bench in an open house, on which bench I lay that night; and STEPHEN lay just by it on the ground; and some three people more lay then in the same house; and in the said house there was a great fire; and another in the yard: yet a tiger came in the night, and carried deer and hide and all away. But we missing it; concluded that it was a thief that had done it. We called up the people that lay by us; and told them what had happened; who informed us that it was a tiger; and with a torch, they went to see which way he had gone, and presently found some of it, which he had let drop by the way. When it was day, we went further; and picked up more, which was scattered; till we came to the hide itself, which remained uneaten.

We had now travelled till Thursday afternoon, when we crossed the river called Coronda Oya [? *Kannadera Oya*], which was then quite dry. This parts the King's country from that of the Malabars. We saw no sign of inhabitants here. The woods began to be very full of thorns and shrubby bushes, with cliffs and broken land; so that we could not possibly go in the woods. But now the river grew better, being clear of rocks; and dry, water only standing in holes. So we marched along in the river bed upon the sand. Hereabouts are far more elephants than higher up. By day, we saw none; but by night, the river was full of them.

On Friday, about nine or ten in the morning, we came among the inhabitants: for then we saw the footing [*footprints*] of people on the sand; and tame cattle with bells about their necks. Yet we kept on our way right down the river; knowing no other course to take, to shun the people. And as we went still forwards, we saw coracan corn sown in the woods; but neither town, nor people, nor so much as the voice of man: yet we were somewhat dismayed; knowing that we were now in a country inhabited by Malabars.

The *Wanniounay* or Prince of this people for fear, pays tribute to the Dutch; but stands far more affected towards the King of Kandy: which made our care the greater to keep ourselves out of his hands; fearing lest if he did not keep us himself, he might send us up to our old master. So that great was our terror again, lest meeting with people we might be discovered.

Yet there was no means now left us how to avoid the danger of being seen. The woods were so bad that we could not possibly travel in them for thorns; and to travel by night was impossible, it being a dark moon; and the river at night so full of elephants and other wild beasts coming to drink, as we did both hear and see, lying upon the banks with a fire by us. They came in such numbers, because there was water for them nowhere else to be had: the ponds and holes of water; nay the river itself, in many places being dry. There was therefore no other way to be taken, but to travel on in the river.

So down we went into the sand and put on as fast as we could set our legs to the ground: seeing no people, nor, I think, nobody us; but only buffaloes in abundance in the water.

CHAPTER XI.

Being in the Malabar territories; how they encountered two men, and what passed between them. And of their getting safe unto the Dutch fort; and their reception there, and at the Island of Manaar; until their embarking for Colombo.

THUS we went on till about three o'clock in the afternoon. At which time, coming about a point, we came up with two Brahmins on a sudden; who were sitting under a tree, boiling rice. We were within forty paces of them. When they saw us they were amazed at us; and as much afraid of us, as we were of them. Now we thought it better policy to treat with them, than to fly from them: fearing they might have bows and arrows, whereas we were armed only with axes in our hands, and knives by our sides; or else that they might raise the country and pursue us. So we made a stand, and in the Cingalese language, asked their leave to come near and treat with them, but they did not understand it: but being risen up, spake to us in the Malabar tongue, which we could not understand. Then, still standing at a distance, we intimated our minds to them by signs, beckoning with our hand: which they answered in the same language.

Then offering to go towards them, and seeing them to be naked men, and no arms near them; we laid our axes upon the ground with our bags: lest we might scare them, if we had come up to them with those weapons in our hands; and so went towards them with only our knives by our sides.

By signs with our hands, showing them our bloody backs; we made understand whence we came, and whither we were going: which when they perceived, they seemed to commiserate our condition, and greatly to admire at such a miracle which GOD had brought to pass; and as they talked one to another, they lifted up their hands and faces towards

heaven, after repeating *Tombrane*, which is *God* in the Malabar tongue.

And by their signs, we understood they would have us bring our bags and axes nearer: which we had no sooner done; but they brought the rice and herbs which they had boiled for themselves to us, and bade us eat; which we were not fitted to do, having not long before eaten a hearty dinner of better fare. Yet we could not but thankfully accept of their compassion and kindness, and eat as much as we could; and in requital of their courtesy, we gave them some of our tobacco: which, after much entreating, they did receive, and it pleased them exceedingly.

After these civilities passed on either side; we began by signs to desire them to go with us, and show us the way to the Dutch fort: which they were very unwilling to do, saying—as by signs and some few words which we could understand—that our greatest danger was past; and that by night, we might get into the Hollanders' dominions.

Yet we being weary with our tedious journey, and desirous to have a guide; showed them money to the value of five shillings, being all I had, and offered it to them, to go with us. Which together with our great importunity, so prevailed, that one of them took it; and leaving his fellow to carry their baggage, he went with us about one mile, and then began to take his leave of us and to return: which we supposed was to get more from us. Having therefore no more money, we gave him a red Tunis cap and a knife; for which he went a mile further, and then as before would leave us, signifying to us, "that we were out of danger, and he could go no farther."

Now we had no more left to give him; but began to perceive that what we had parted withal to him was but flung away. And although we might have taken all from him again, being alone in the wood; yet we feared to do it, lest thereby we might exasperate him, and so he might give notice of us to the people: but bade him farewell; after he had conducted us four or five miles.

We kept on our journey down the river as before, until it was night; and lodged upon a bank under a tree: but were in the way of the elephants; for in the night they came and had like to have disturbed us; so that for our preservation

we were forced to fling firebrands at them to scare them away.

The next morning, being Saturday, as soon as it was light, having eaten to strengthen us (as horses do oats before they travel), we set forth, going still down. The sand was dry and loose and so very tedious to go upon, by the side of the river we could not go, it being all overgrown with bushes. The land hereabouts was as smooth as a bowling green; but the grass clean burnt up for want of rain.

Having travelled about two hours, we saw a man walking in the river before, whom we would gladly have shunned, but well could not: for he walked down the river as we did: but at a very slow rate, which much hindered us. But considering upon the distance we had come since we left the Brahmin and comparing with what he told us, we concluded we were in the Hollanders' jurisdiction; and so amended our pace to overtake the man before us: whom we perceiving to be free from timorousness at the sight of us, concluded he had been used to see white men.

Whereupon, we asked him, "to whom he belonged?" He, speaking the Cingalese language, answered, "to the Dutch;" and also "that all the country was under their command, and that we were out of danger, and that the fort of Aripo was but some six miles off." Which did not a little rejoice us. We told him, "we were of that nation, and had made our escape from Kandy, where we had been many years kept in captivity:" and—having nothing to give him ourselves—we told him, "that it was not to be doubted, but that the chief Commander at the fort would bountifully reward him if he would go with us, and direct us thither." But whether he doubted of that or not, or whether he expected something in hand; he excused himself, pretending earnest and urgent occasions that he could not defer. But he advised us to leave the river, because it winds so much about, and to turn up without fear to the towns; where the people would direct us the way to the fort.

Upon his advice, we struck up a path that came down to the river, intending to go to a town, but could find none: and there were so many cross paths that we could not tell which way to go; and the land here was so exceedingly low and level, that we could see no other thing but trees. For

although I got up a tree to look if I could see the Dutch fort or discern any houses; yet I could not: and the sun being right over our heads, neither could that direct us. Insomuch that we wished ourselves again in our old friend, the river. So after much wandering up and down; we sat down under a tree, waiting until the sun was fallen or some people came by.

Which not long after, three or four Malabars did. We told these men that we were Hollanders: supposing they would be the more willing to go with us; but they proved of the same temper with the rest before mentioned. For until I gave one of them a small knife to cut betel nuts, he would not go with us; but for the lucre of that, he conducted us to a town. From whence, they sent a man with us to the next. And so we were passed from town to town, until we arrived at the fort called Aripo. It being about four o'clock on Saturday afternoon, October the 18th, 1679.

Which day, GOD grant us grace that we may never forget: when He was pleased to give us so great a deliverance from such a long captivity of nineteen years, and six months, and odd days. I being taken prisoner when I was nineteen years old; and continued upon the mountains among the heathen till I attained to eight and thirty.

In this flight through the woods; I cannot but take notice with some wonder and great thankfulness, that this travelling by night in a desolate wilderness was little or nothing dreadful to me; whereas formerly the very thoughts of it would seem to dread me. And in the night, when I lay down to rest, with wild beasts round me; I slept as soundly and securely as ever I did at home in my own house. Which courage and peace, I look upon to be the immediate gift of GOD to me, upon my earnest prayers; which at that time he poured into my heart in great measure and fervency. After which I found myself freed from those frights and fears, which usually possessed my heart at other times.

In short, I look upon the whole business as a miraculous providence; and that the hand of GOD did eminently appear to me as it did of old to his people Israel in the like circumstances; in leading and conducting me through this dreadful wilderness, and not to suffer any evil to approach nigh unto me.

The Hollanders much wondered at our arrival—it being so strange that any should escape from Kandy—and entertained us very kindly that night.

And the next morning, being Sunday; they sent a Corporal with us to Manaar, and a black man to carry our few things.

At Manaar, we were brought before the Captain of the castle, the Chief Governor being absent; who, when we came in, was just risen from dinner. He received us with a great deal of kindness, and bade us sit down to eat.

It seemed not a little strange to us, who had dwelt so long in straw cottages among the black heathen, and used to sit on the ground, and eat our meat on leaves; now to sit on chairs, and eat out of china dishes at a table; where there were great varieties, and a fair and sumptuous house inhabited by white and Christian people: we being then in such habit and guise (our natural colour excepted) that we seemed not fit to eat with his servants, no, nor his slaves.

After dinner, the Captain inquired concerning the affairs of the King and country, and the condition of their Ambassadors and people there. To all which, we gave them true and satisfactory answers. Then he told us "that to-morrow, there was a sloop to sail to Jaffnapatam, in which he would send us to the Commander and Governor; from whence we might have a passage to Fort Saint George [*Madras*] or any other place on that coast, according to our desire." After this, he gave us some money; bidding us go to the Castle to drink, and be merry with our countrymen there. For all which kindness, giving him many thanks in the Portuguese language; we took our leaves of him.

When we came to the court of guard at the Castle; we asked the soldiers if there were no Englishmen among them. Immediately there came forth two men to us, the one a Scotchman named ANDREW BROWN; the other an Irishman, whose name was FRANCIS HODGES: who, after very kind salutes, carried us unto their lodgings in the castle; and entertained us very nobly, according to their ability, with arrack and tobacco.

The news of our arrival being spread in the town, the people came flocking to see us as a strange and wonderful sight: and some to inquire about their husbands, sons and relations which were prisoners at Kandy.

In the evening a gentlemen of the town sent to invite us to his house; where we were gallantly entertained both with victuals and lodging.

The next day, being Monday, while ready to embark for Jaffnapatam; there came an order from the Captain and Council that we must stay until the Commander of Jaffnapatam, who was daily expected, came thither: which we could not deny to do; and order was given to the Victuallers of the soldiers to provide for us. The Scotchman and Irishman were very glad of this order, that they might have our company longer: and would not suffer us to spend the Captain's benevolence in their company, but spent freely upon us at their own charges.

Thanks be to GOD, we both continued in health all the time of our escape; but within three days after we came to Manaar, my companion fell very sick; so that I thought I should have lost him.

Thus we remained some ten days. At which time the expected Commander arrived, and was received with great ceremonies of state. The next day we went before him, to receive his orders concerning us: which were to be ready to go with him on the morrow to Colombo; there being a ship, that had long waited in that road to carry him. In which, we embark with him for Colombo.

At our coming on board to go to sea, we could not expect but to be seasick; being now as fresh men having so long disused the sea: but it proved otherwise, and we were not in the least stirred.

CHAPTER XII.

Their arrival at Colombo and entertainment there. Their departure thence to Batavia; and from thence to Bantam: whence they set sail for England.

BEING safely arrived at Colombo, before the ship came to an anchor; there came a barge on board to carry the Commander ashore. But it being late in the evening, and my consort being sick of an ague and fever; we thought it better for us to stay on board until the morning, so as to have a day before us.

The next morning, we bade the skipper farewell, and went ashore in the first boat: going straight to the Court of Guard; where all the soldiers came staring upon us, wondering to see white men in Cingalese habits. We asked them, if "there were no Englishmen among them." They told us, "there were none, but that in the city there were several." A trumpeter being hard by who had formerly sailed in English ships; hearing of us, came and invited us to his chamber: and entertained my consort being sick of his ague, in his own bed.

The strange news of our arrival from Kandy was presently spread all about the city, and all the Englishmen that were there immediately came to bid us welcome out of our long captivity: with whom we consulted how to come to speech of the Governor. Upon which, one of them went and acquainted the Captain of the Guard of our being on shore; which the Captain understanding, went and informed the Governor thereof. Who sent us answer that to-morrow we should come before him.

After my consort's fit was over; our countrymen and their friends invited us abroad to walk and see the city. We being barefooted and in Cingalese habit with great long beards; the people much wondered at us, and came flocking to see who and what we were; so that we had a great train of people about us, as we walked in the streets. And after

we had walked to and fro, and had seen the city; they carried us to their landlady's house, where we were kindly treated both with victuals and drink; and returned to the trumpeter's house as he had desired us when we went out. In the evening, came a boy from the Governor's house to tell us, that the Governor invited us to come to supper at his house: but we—having dined lately with our countrymen and their friends—had no room to receive the Governor's kindness; and so lodged that night, at the trumpeter's.

The next morning, the Governor—whose name was RICKLOF VAN GONS, son of RICKLOF VAN GONS the General of Batavia—sent for us to his house. Whom we found standing in a large and stately room, paved with black and white stones: and only the Commander of Jaffnapatam, who brought us from Manaar, standing by him; who was to succeed him in the government of that place. On the further side of the room, stood three of the chief Captains bareheaded.

First, "he bade us welcome out of our long captivity," and told us "That we were free men: and that he should have been glad if he could have been an instrument to redeem us sooner; having endeavoured as much for us as for his own people." For all which, we thanked him heartily: telling him, "We knew it to be true."

The Governor perceiving I could speak the Portuguese tongue, began to inquire concerning the affairs of the King and country very particularly; and oftentimes asked about such matters as he himself knew better than I. To all his questions, my too much experience enabled me to give a satisfactory reply. Some of the most remarkable matters he demanded of me, were these.

First, they inquired much about the reason and intent of our coming to Kottiaar: to which, I answered them at large.

Then they asked, "If the King of Kandy had any issue?" I told them, "As report went, he had none."

And, "Who were the greatest in the realm, next to him?" I answered, "There were none of renown left, the King had destroyed them all."

"How the hearts of the people stood affected?" I answered, "Much against their King: he being so cruel."

"If we had never been brought into his presence?" I told them, "No, nor never had had a near sight of him."

"What strength he had for war?" I answered, "Not well able to assault them, by reason that the hearts of his people were not true to him: but that the strength of his country consisted in mountains and woods, as much as in the people."

"What army could he raise upon occasion?" I answered, "I knew not well; but, as I thought, about thirty thousand men."

"Why would he not make peace with them: they so much suing for it, and sending presents to please him?" I answered, "I was not one of his Council, and knew not his meaning."

But they demanded of me, "What I thought might be the reason or occasion of it?" I answered, "Living securely in the mountains, he feareth none; and for traffic, he regardeth it not."

"Which way was best and most secure to send spies or intelligence to Kandy?" I told them, "By the way that goeth to Jaffnapatam; and by some of that country's people, who have great correspondence with the people of Nuwerakalawe, one of the King's countries."

"What I thought would become of that land after the King's decease?" I told them, "I thought, he having no issue; it might fall into their hands."

"How many Englishmen had served the King, and what became of them?" Which I gave them an account of.

"Whether I had an acquaintance or discourse with the great men at Court?" I answered, "That I was too small to have any friendship or intimacy or hold discourse with them."

"How the common people used to talk concerning them [*the Dutch*]?" I answered, "They used much to commend their justice and good government in the territories and over the people belonging unto them."

"Whether the King did take counsel of any, or rule and act only by his own will and pleasure?" I answered, "I was a stranger at Court, and how could I know that?"

"But," they asked further, "what was my opinion?" I replied, "He is so great, that there is none great enough to give him counsel."

Concerning the French: "if the King knew not of their coming, before they came?" I answered, "I thought not, because their coming seemed strange and wonderful unto the people."

"How they had proceeded in treating with the King?" I answered as shall be related hereafter, when I come to speak of the French detained in this land.

"If I knew any way or means to be used, whereby the prisoners in Kandy might be set free?" I told them, "Means I knew none, unless they could do it by war."

Also they inquired about the manner of executing those whom the King commands to be put to death. They inquired also very curiously concerning the manner of our surprisal, and entertainment or usage among them; and in what parts of the land, we had our residence: and particularly concerning myself, in what parts of the land, and how long in each, I had dwelt; and after what manner I lived there; and of my age; and in what part or place when GOD sent me home, I should take up my abode? To all which, I gave answers.

They desired to know also, how many Englishmen there were yet remaining behind. I gave them an account of sixteen men, and also of eighteen children born there.

They much inquired concerning their Ambassadors detained there, and of their behaviour and manner of living; also what the King allowed them for maintenance; and concerning several officers of quality, prisoners there; and in general, about all the rest of their nation.

And what "countenance the King showed to those Dutchmen that came running away to him?" I answered, "The Dutch runaways, the King looks upon as rogues."

And concerning the Portuguese, they inquired also. I told them, "The Portuguese were about some fifty or threescore persons: and six or seven of those, were European born."

They asked moreover, "How we had made our escape? and which way? and by what towns we passed? and how long we were in our journey?" To all which I answered at large.

Then the Governor asked me "What was my intent and desire?" I told him, "To have passage to our own nation at Fort Saint George."

To which he answered, "That suddenly [*immediately*] there

would be no convenient opportunity: but his desire was that we would go with him to Batavia; where the General his father, would be very glad to see us." Which it was not in our power to deny.

Then he commanded to call a Dutch Captain; who was over the countries adjacent, subject to their jurisdiction. To whom he gave orders to take us home to his house, and there well to entertain us, and also to send for a tailor to make us clothes.

Upon which I told him: "That his kindness shown us already, was more than we could have desired. It would be a sufficient favour now to supply us with a little money upon a bill to be paid at Fort Saint George, that we might therewith clothe ourselves."

To which he answered, "That he would not deny me any sum I should demand, and clothe us upon his own account besides." For which, we humbly thanked his Lordship: and so took our leave of him; and went home with the aforesaid Captain.

The Governor presently sent me money by his steward for expenses when we walked abroad in the city.

We were nobly entertained without lack of anything all the time we stayed at Colombo. My consort's ague increased, and grew very bad; but the Chief Surgeon, by order, daily came to see him; and gave him such potions of physic, that by GOD's blessing, he soon after recovered.

During my being here, I wrote a letter to my fellow-prisoners that I left behind me in Kandy: wherein I described, at large, the way we went, so that they might plainly understand the same; which I finding to be safe and secure, advised them when GOD permitted, to steer the same course. This letter I left with the new Governor of Colombo and desired him, when opportunity presented, to send it to them: who said he would have it copied out into Dutch, for the benefit of their prisoners there; and promised to send both together.

The Governor seemed to be pleased with my aforesaid relations and replies to his demands; insomuch that he afterwards appointed one that well understood Portuguese to write down all the former particulars. Which being done; for further satisfaction, they brought me pen and paper,

desiring me to write the same, that I had related to them, in English and to sign it with my hand: which I was not unwilling to do.

Upon the Governor's departure, there were great and royal feasts made: to which he always sent for me. Here were exceeding great varieties of food, wine and sweetmeats; and music.

Some two and twenty days after our arrival at Colombo, the Governor went on board ship to sail to Batavia; and took us with him. At which time there were many scores of ordnance fired.

We sailed all the day with flag and pennant under it; being out both day and night; in a ship of about 800 tons burden; and a soldier standing armed as a sentinel at the cabin door, both night and day. The Governor so far favoured me that I was in his own mess, and eat at his table; where every meal, we had ten or twelve dishes of meat, with variety of wine.

We set sail from Colombo the 24th of November; and the 5th of January [1680] anchored in Batavia road.

As we came to greater men, so we found greater kindness: for the General of Batavia's reception of us and favours to us, exceeded if possible, those of the Governor his son. As soon as we came before him; seeming to be very glad, he took me by the hand and bade me "heartily welcome, thanking GOD on our behalf, that had appeared so miraculously in our deliverance;" telling us withal, "that he had omitted no means for our redemption; and that if it had been in his power, we should long before have had our liberty."

I humbly thanked his Excellency, and said, "That I knew it to be true; and that though it missed of an effect, yet his good will was not the less, neither were our obligations; being ever bound to thank and pray for him."

Then his own tailor was ordered to take measure of us, and to furnish us with two suits of apparel. He gave us also money for tobacco and betel, and to spend in the city. All the time we stayed there, our quarters were in the Captain of the Castle's house. And oftentimes the General would send for me to his own table, at which sat only himself and his lady who was all bespangled with diamonds and pearls. Sometimes his sons and daughters-in-law, with

some other strangers did eat with him: the trumpets sounding all the while.

We finding ourselves thus kindly entertained, and our habits changed; saw that we were no more captives in Kandy, nor yet prisoners elsewhere: therefore we cut off our beards which we had brought with us out of our captivity (for until then, we cut them not); GOD having rolled away the reproach of Kandy from us.

Here also, they did examine me again, concerning the passages of Kandy; causing all to be written down which I said, and requiring my hand to the same: which I refused as I had done before, and upon the same account—because I understood not the Dutch language. Whereupon they persuaded me to write a certificate upon another paper under my hand, that what I had informed them of was true. Which I did. This examination was taken by two secretaries, who were appointed to demand answers of me concerning the King of Ceylon and his country: which they committed to writing from my mouth.

The General's youngest son being to go home Admiral of the ships this year, the General kindly offered us passage upon their ships; promising me entertainment at his son's own table, as the Governor of Colombo had given me in my voyage thither: which offer he made me, he said, "that I might better satisfy their Company in Holland concerning the affairs of Ceylon; which they would be very glad to know."

At this time came two English merchants hither from Bantam: with whom the General was pleased to permit us to go.

But when we came to Bantam, the English Agent [of the English East India Company] very kindly entertained us; and being not willing that we should go to the Dutch for a passage, since GOD had brought us to our own nation, ordered our passage in the good ship *Cæsar* lying then in the road, for England the land of our nativity and our long wished for port. Where by the good providence of GOD, we arrived safe in the month of September [1680].

CHAPTER XIII.

Concerning some other nations, and chiefly European that now live in the island. The Portuguese and Dutch.

AVING SAID all this concerning the English people, it may not be unacceptable to give some account of other whites, who either voluntarily or by constraint inhabit there: and they are besides the English already spoken of; Portuguese, Dutch and French.

But before I enter upon a discourse of any of these, I shall detain my readers a little with another nation inhabiting this land, I mean the Malabars: both because they are strangers and derive themselves from another country; and also because I have had occasion to mention them sometimes in this book.

These Malabars, then, are voluntary inhabitants of the island; and have a country here, though the limits of it are but small. It lies to the northward of the King's coasts, betwixt him and the Hollanders. Corunda Oya parts it from the King's territories. Through this country we passed, when we made our escape. The language they speak is peculiar to themselves; so that a Cingalese cannot understand them, nor they a Cingalese.

They have a Prince over them, called *Coilat Wannea*, that is independent both of the King of Kandy on the one hand, and of the Dutch on the other: only that he pays an acknowledgment to the Hollanders, who have endeavoured to subdue him by wars, but they cannot yet do it. Yet they have brought him to be a tributary to them, viz.: to pay a certain rate of elephants *per annum*. The King and this Prince maintain a friendship and correspondence together: and when the King lately sent an army against the Hollanders, this Prince let them pass through his country; and went himself in person, to direct the King's people; when they took one or two forts from them.

The people are in great subjection under him. They pay him rather greater taxes than the Cingalese do to their King: but he is nothing so cruel. He victualleth his soldiers during the time they are upon the guard, either about the palace or abroad in the wars: whereas it is the contrary in the King's country; for the Cingalese soldiers bear their own expenses. He hath a certain rate out of every land that is sown; which is to maintain his charge.

The commodities of this country are elephants, honey, butter, milk, wax, cows, wild cattle; of the last three, a great abundance. As for corn, it is more scarce than in the Cingalese country; neither have they any cotton: but they come up into Nuwerakalawe yearly, with great droves of cattle; and lade back both corn and cotton. And to buy these they bring up cloth made of the same cotton, which they can make better than the Cingalese; also they bring salt, and salt fish, brass basins, and other commodities; which they get of the Hollander. Because the King permits not his people to have any manner of trade with the Hollander; so they receive the Dutch commodities at second hand.

We will now proceed unto the European nations: and we will begin with the Portuguese; who deserve the first place; being the oldest standers there.

The sea-coasts round about the island were formerly under their power and government: and so held for many years. In which time, many of the natives became Christians, and learned the Portuguese tongue; which to this day is much spoken in that land, for even the King himself understands and speaks it excellently well.

The Portuguese have often made invasions throughout the whole land, even to Kandy the metropolis of the island; which they have burnt more than once with the palace and the temples. And so formidable have they been that the King hath been forced to turn tributary to them, paying them three elephants *per annum*. However the middle of the island, viz., Conde Uda, standing upon mountains, and so strongly fortified by nature; could never be brought into subjection by them, much less by any other: but hath always been under the power of their own kings.

There were great and long wars between the King of

Ceylon and the Portuguese; and many of the brave Portuguese generals are still in memory among them: of whom I shall relate some passages presently. Great vexation they gave the King by their irruptions into his dominions, and the mischiefs they did him; though oftentimes with great loss on their side. Great battles have been lost and won between them; with great destruction of men on both parts. But being greatly distressed at last; he sent and called in the Hollander to his aid: by whose seasonable assistance, together with his own arms; the King totally dispossessed the Portuguese and routed them out of the land. Whose room the Dutch now occupy; paying themselves for their pains.

At the surrender of Colombo, which was the last place the Portuguese held, the King made a proclamation, that all Portuguese which would come unto him, should be well entertained: which accordingly many did, with their whole families, wives, children and servants; choosing rather to be under him than the Dutch. And divers of them are alive to this day, living in Conde Uda; and others are born there. To all of whom, he alloweth monthly maintenance, yea also and provisions for their slaves and servants which they brought up with them. These people are privileged to travel the countries above all other whites, as knowing they will not run away. Also when there was a trade at the seaports; they were permitted to go down with commodities, clear from all customs and duties.

Besides those who came voluntarily to live under the King: there are others whom he took prisoners. The Portuguese of the best quality, the King took into his service: who have been, most of them, since cut off; according to his kind custom towards his courtiers. The rest of them have an allowance from the King; and follow husbandry, trading about the country, distilling arrack, keeping taverns; or the women sew women's waistcoats, and the men sew men's doublets for sale.

I shall now mention some of the last Portuguese generals, all within the present King's reign; with some passages concerning them.

CONSTANTINE SA, General of the Portuguese army in Ceylon when the Portuguese had footing in this land, was

very successful against this present King. He ran quite through the island unto the royal city itself; which he set on fire, with the temples therein. Insomuch that the King sent a message to him signifying that he was willing to become his tributary. But he proudly sent him word back again, "That that would not serve his turn: he should not only be tributary but slave to his master, the King of Portugal." This, the King of Kandy could not brook, being of an high stomach; and said, "He would fight to the last drop of blood, rather than stoop to that."

There were at this time, many commanders in the General's army, who were natural Cingalese: with these, the King dealt secretly; assuring them that if they would turn on his side, he would gratify them with very ample rewards. The King's promises took effect; and they all revolted from the General. The King now — not daring to trust the revolted to make trial of their truth and fidelity—put them in the forefront of his battle; and commanded them to give the first onset. The King at that time, might have had 20,000 or 30,000 men in the field: who, taking their opportunity, set upon the Portuguese army and gave them such a total overthrow; that, as they report in that country, not one of them escaped. The General seeing his defeat, and himself likely to be taken; called his black boy to give him water to drink; and snatching the knife that stuck by his boy's side, stabbed himself with it.

Another General after him, was LEWIS TISSÉRA. He swore that he would make the King eat *coracan tallipa*, that is, a kind of hasty pudding made of water and the coracan flour, which is reckoned the worst fare of that island. The King afterwards took this LEWIS TISSÉRA; and put him in chains in the common gaol, and made him eat of the same fare. And there is a ballad of this man and this passage, sung much among the common people there to this day.

Their next General was SIMON CAREE, a natural Cingalese, but baptized. He is said to have been a great commander. When he had got any victory over the Cingalese, he did exercise great cruelty. He would make the women beat their own children to pieces in their mortars; wherein they used to beat their corn.

GASPAR FIGARI had a Portuguese father and a Cingalese

mother. He was the last general they had in this country, and a brave soldier: but degenerated not from his predecessors in cruelty. He would hang up the people by the heels, and split them down the middle. He had his axe wrapped in a white cloth, which he carried with him into the field, to execute those he suspected to be false to him or that attempted to run away. Smaller malefactors he was merciful to, cutting off only their right hands. Several whom he hath so served are yet living, whom I have seen.

This GASPAR came up one day to fight against the King: and the King resolved to fight him. The General fixed his camp at Motaupul in Hotterakorle. And in order to the King's coming down to meet the Portuguese, preparation was made for him at a place called Catta coppul, which might be ten or twelve miles distant from the Portuguese army. GASPAR knew of the place by some spies, but of the time of the King's coming he was informed that it was a day sooner than really it happened. According to this information, he resolved privately to march thither; and come upon him in the night unawares. And because he knew the King was a politician, and would have his spies abroad to watch the General's motion; the General sent for all the drummers and pipers to play and dance in his camp that thereby the King's spies might not suspect that he was upon the march, but merry and secure in his camp.

In the meantime, having set his people all to their dancing and drumming, he left a small party there to secure the baggage; and away he goes in the night with his army, and arrives at Catta coppul, intending to fall upon the King. But when he came thither, he found the King was not yet come; but into the King's tent he went, and sate him down in the seat appointed for the King. Here he heard where the King was with his camp; which being not far off, he marched thither in the morning, and fell upon him; and gave him one of the greatest routs that ever he had.

The King himself had a narrow escape. For had it not been for a Dutch company, which the Dutch had sent a little before for his guard: who, after his own army fled, turned head and stopped the Portuguese for a while; he had been seized. The Portuguese General was so near the King, that he called after him, *Houre*, that is "Brother, Stay! I would

speak with you!" But the King having got atop of the hills, was safe: and so GASPAR retired to his quarters.

This gallant expert Commander, that had so often vanquished the Cingalese; could not cope with another European nation. For when the Hollanders came to besiege Colombo, he was sent against them with his army. They told him before he went, that now he must look to himself: for he was not now to fight against Cingalese; but against soldiers that would look him in the face. But he made nothing of them, and said that he would serve them as he had served the Cingalese. The Hollanders met him, and they fought; but they had before contrived a stratagem, which he was not aware of. They had placed some field-pieces in the rear of their army; and after a small skirmish, they retreated as if they had been worsted, which was only to draw the Portuguese nearer upon their guns: which, when they had brought them in shot of, they opened on a sudden to the right and left, and fired upon them; and so routed them, and drove them into Colombo.

This GASPAR was in the city, when it was taken; and was himself taken prisoner: who was afterwards sent to Goa; where he died.

And so much of the Portuguese.

The Dutch succeeded the Portuguese. The first occasion of whose coming into this land was that the present King, being wearied and overmatched with the Portuguese, sent for them into his aid long ago from Batavia. And they did him good service; but they feathered their own nests by the means; and are now possessed of all the sea-coasts, and considerable territories thereunto adjoining.

The King of the country keeps up an irreconcilable war against them: the occasion of which is said to have been this.

Upon the besieging of Colombo, which was about the year 1655: it was concluded upon between the King and the Dutch, that their enemies the Portuguese being expelled thence; the city was to be delivered up by the Dutch into the King's hands. Whereupon the King himself in person, with all his power; went down to this war, to assist and and join with the Hollanders: without whose help, as it is generally reported, the Dutch could not have taken the city.

But being surrendered to them, and they gotten into it; the King lay looking for when they would come, according to their former articles, and put him into possession of it. Meanwhile they turned on a sudden, and fell upon him, contrary to his expectation—whether the King had first broke word with them is not known — and took bag and baggage from him. Which provoked him in so high a manner, that he maintains a constant hostility against them; detains their Ambassadors; and forbids his people, upon pain of death, to hold commerce with them.

So that the Dutch have enough to do to maintain those places which they have. Oftentimes the King, at unawares falls upon them and does them great spoil: sometimes giving no quarter, but cutting off the heads of whomsoever he catches: which are brought up and hung upon trees near the city; many of which I have seen. Sometimes he brings up his prisoners alive and keeps them by the highway sides, a spectacle to the people in memory of his victories over them. Many of these are now living there in a most miserable condition, having but a very small allowance from him; so that they are forced to beg, and it is a favour when they can get leave to go abroad and do it.

The Dutch, therefore, not being able to deal with him by the sword, being unacquainted with the woods and the Cingalese manner of fighting; do endeavour for peace with him all they can: dispatching divers Ambassadors to him, and sending great presents; by carrying letters to him in great state, wrapped up in silks wrought with gold and silver; bearing them all the way upon their heads, in token of great honour; honouring him with great and high titles; subscribing themselves his subjects and servants; telling him that the forts they build, are out of loyalty to him, to secure His Majesty's country from foreign enemies; and that when they came up into his country, it was to seek maintenance.

And by these flatteries and submissions, they sometimes obtain to keep what they have gotten from him; and sometimes nothing will prevail: he, neither regarding their Ambassadors nor receiving the presents; but taking his opportunity upon a sudden, of setting on them with his forces.

His craft and success in taking Belligam fort, in the county of Habberagon; may deserve to be mentioned. The Cingalese

had besieged the fort, and knowing the Dutch had no water there, but that all they had was conveyed through a trench wrought under ground from a river near by: they besieged them so closely and planted so many guns towards the mouth of this trench; that they could not come out to fetch water. They cut down wood also, and made bundles of faggots therewith: which they piled up around about the fort at some distance; and every night removed them nearer and nearer: so their works became higher than the fort. Their main intent by these faggot-works, was to have brought them just under the fort, and then to have set it on fire: the walls of the fort being for the most part of wood. There was also a boabab tree growing just by the fort; on which they planted guns, and shot right down into them. The houses in the fort being thatched; they shot also fire arrows among them: so that the besieged were forced to pull off the straw from their houses, which proved a great inconvenience to them, it being a rainy season; so that they lay open to the weather and cold.

The Dutch finding themselves in this extremity, desired quarter: which was granted them at the King's mercy. They came out and laid down their arms; all but the officers, who still wore theirs. None were plundered of anything they had about them. The fort, the Cingalese demolished to the ground; and brought up the four guns to the King's palace: where they, among others, stand; mounted on broad carriages, before his gate.

The Dutch were brought two or three days' journey from the fort into the country they called Oowah; and there were placed with a guard about them: having but a small allowance appointed them; insomuch that afterwards having spent what they had; they perished for hunger. So that of about ninety Hollanders taken prisoners; there were not above five and twenty living when I came away.

There are several white Ambassadors, besides other Cingalese people, by whom the Dutch have sent letters and presents to the King: whom he keeps from returning back again. They are all bestowed in several houses, with soldiers to guard them. And though they are not in chains; yet none is permitted to come to them or speak with them. It not being the custom of that land for any to come to the speech of Ambassadors. Their allowance is brought them

ready dressed out of the King's palace; being of all sorts and varieties that the land affords.

After they have remained in this condition some years, the guards are somewhat slackened and the soldiers that are to watch them grow remiss in their duty; so that now the Ambassadors walk about the streets, and anybody goes to their houses and talks with them: that is after they have been so long in the country, that all their news is stale and grown out of date. But this liberty is only winked at, not allowed.

When they have been there a great while, the King usually gives them slaves, both men and women: the more to alienate their minds from their own country; and that they may stay with him, with the more willingness and content. For his design is to make them, if he can, inclinable to serve him: as he prevailed with one of these Ambassadors to do for the love of a woman. The manner of it I shall relate immediately.

There were five Ambassadors whom he hath thus detained, since my coming there; of each of whom, I shall speak a little: besides two, whom he sent away voluntarily.

The first of these was sent up by the Hollanders, some time before the rebellion against the King [in 1664]; who detained him in the city. After the rebellion, the King sent for him to him to the mountain of Gauluda; whither he had retreated from the rebels. The King not long after removed to Digligy, where he now keeps his Court: but left the Ambassador at Gauluda remaining by himself, with a guard of soldiers. In this uncomfortable condition, upon a dismal mountain, void of all society; he continued many days. During which time, a Cingalese and his wife fell out, and she being discontented with her husband, to escape from him flies to this Ambassador's house for shelter. The woman being somewhat beautiful; he fell greatly in love with her: and to obtain her, he sent to the King and proffered him his service if he would permit him to enjoy her company. Which the King was very willing and glad to do, having now obtained that which he had long aimed at, to get him into his service.

Hereupon the King sent him word that he granted his desire, and withal sent to both of them rich apparel; and to her, many jewels and bracelets of gold and silver.

Suddenly afterwards there was a great house prepared for them in the city, furnished with all kind of furniture out of the King's treasure, and at his proper cost and charges. Which being finished, he was brought away from his mountain, into it: but from thenceforward he never saw his wife more, according to the custom of the Court. And he was entertained in the King's service, and made *Courtalbad*, which is Chief over all the smiths and carpenters in Conde Uda.

Some short time after, the King about to send his forces against a fort of the Hollanders called Arranderre, built by them in the year 1666; he, though in the King's service, yet being a well-wisher to his country, had privately sent a letter of advice to the Dutch concerning the King's intention and purpose; an answer to which was intercepted, and brought to the King; wherein "thanks were returned to him from the Dutch for his loyalty to his own nation, and that they would accordingly prepare for the King's assault."

The King having read this letter, sent for him, and bade him read it; which he excused, pretending it was so written that he could not. Whereupon immediately another Dutchman was sent for; who read it before the King, and told him the contents of it. At which it is reported that the King said *Beia pas mettandi hitta pas ettandi*, that is, "He serves me for fear, and them for love," or "His fear is here, and his love there:" and forthwith commanded to carry him forth to execution; which was accordingly done upon him. It is generally said that this letter was framed by somebody on purpose to ruin him.

The next Ambassador after him was HENDRICK DRAAK, a fine gentleman, and a good friend of the English. This was he who was commissioned in the year 1664 to intercede with the King on behalf of the English, that they might have liberty to go home; and with him they were made to believe they should return: which happened at the same time that Sir EDWARD WINTER sent his letters to the King for us; which I have already spoken of in the Fifth Chapter of this Fourth Part.

This Ambassador was much in the King's favour, with whom he was detained till he died. And then the King sent his body down to Colombo, carried in a palankin with great state and lamentation; and accompanied with his great commanders and many soldiers.

Some time after the loss of the fort of Arranderre, which was about the year 1670: the Dutch sent up another Ambassador to see if he could obtain peace: which was the first time their Ambassadors began to bring up letters upon their heads in token of extraordinary reverence. This man was much favoured by the King, and was entertained with great ceremony and honour: he clothing him in Cingalese habit, which I never knew done before nor since. But being weary of his long stay, and of the delays that were made; having often made motions to go down to the coast and still he was deferred from day to day: at length he made a resolution, that if he had not leave by such a day, he would go without it; saying "the former ambassador [H. DRAAK], who died there, died like a woman; but it should be seen that he would die like a man."

At the appointed day, he girt on his sword, and repaired to the gates of the King's palace; pulling off his hat, and making his obeisance, as if the King were present before him: and thanking him for the favours and honours he had done him; and so took his leave. And there being some Englishmen present, he generously gave them some money to drink his health: and in this resolute manner departed, with some two or three black servants that attended on him. The upshot of which was, that the King, not being willing to prevent his resolution by violence, sent one of his noblemen to conduct him down: and so he had the good fortune to get home safely to Colombo.

The next Ambassador after him, was JOHN BAPTISTA: a man of a milder spirit than the former; endeavouring to please and show compliance with the King. He obtained many favours of the King, and several slaves, both men and women: and living well, with servants about him; is the more patient in waiting the King's leisure, till he pleaseth to send him home.

The last Ambassador that came up while I was there, brought up a lion; which the Dutch thought would be the most acceptable present that they could send to the King; as indeed did all others. It was but a whelp. But the King did never receive it, supposing it not so famous as he had heard by report lions were. This man with his lion was brought up and kept in the county of Ooddaboolat, nearly

twenty miles from the King's Court: where he remained about a year; in the which time the lion died.

The Ambassador, being weary of living thus like a prisoner, with a guard always upon him, often attempted to go back; seeing the King would not permit him audience: but the guards would not let him. Having divers times made disturbances in this manner to get away home; the King commanded to bring him up into the city to an house that was prepared for him, standing some distance from the Court. Where having waited many days, and seeing no signs of audience; he resolved to make his appearance before the King by force: which he attempted to do; when the King was abroad taking his pleasure. The soldiers of his guard immediately ran, and acquainted the noblemen at Court of his coming; who delayed not to acquaint the King thereof. Whereupon the King gave order forthwith to meet him; and where they met him in that same place to stop him till further orders. And there they kept him, not letting him go either forward or backward. In this manner and place, he remained for three days: till the King sent orders that he might return to his house whence he came. This the King did to tame him. But afterwards he was pleased to call him before him. And there he remained when I left the country; maintained with plenty of provisions at the King's charge.

The number of Dutch now living there may be about fifty or sixty. Some whereof are Ambassadors; some prisoners of war; some runaways and malefactors that have escaped the hand of justice, and got away from the Dutch quarters. To all of whom, are allotted respective allowances; but the runaways have the least, the King not loving such, though giving them entertainment.

The Dutch here love drink, and so practise their proper vice in this country. One who was a great man in the Court, would sometime come into the King's presence, half disguised with drink; which the King often passed over: but once asked him, "Why do you thus disorder yourself that when I send for you about my business, you are not in a capacity to serve me?" He boldly replied, "That as soon as his mother took away her milk from him; she supplied it with wine: and ever since," saith he, "I have used myself to it," With this answer, the King seemed to be pleased. And indeed

the rest of the white men are generally of the same temper; insomuch that the Cingalese have a saying, "That wine is as natural to white men as milk to children."

All differences of ranks and qualities are disregarded among those Cingalese people that are under the Dutch. Neither do the Dutch make any distinction between the "Hondrews," and the low and inferior castes of men; and permit them to go in the same habit, and sit upon stools, as well as the best Hondrews: and the lower ranks may eat and intermarry with the higher without any punishment or any cognizance taken of it. Which is a matter that the Cingalese in Conde Uda are much offended with the Dutch for; and makes them think, that they themselves are sprung from some mean rank or extract. And this prejudiceth this people against them; that they have not such an esteem for them. For to a Cingalese, his rank and honour is as dear as his life.

And thus much of the Dutch.

CHAPTER XIV.

Concerning the French. With some inquiries what should make the King detain white men as he does. And how the Christian religion is maintained among the Christians there.

ABOUT the year 1672 or 1673; there came fourteen sail of great ships from the King of France to settle a trade here. Monsieur DE LA HAYE the Admiral, put in with his fleet into the port of Kottiaar. From whence, he sent up three men by way of embassy, to the King of Kandy: whom he entertained very nobly, and gave every one of them a chain of gold about their necks, and a sword all inlaid with silver, and a gun. And afterwards he sent one of them down to the Admiral with his answer which encouraged him to send up others, that is, an Ambassador, and six more, who were to reside there, till the return of the fleet back again; the fleet being about to sail to the coast of Coromandel.

To the fleet, the King sent all manner of provisions, as much as his ability could afford; and not only permitted but assisted them to build a fort in the bay: which they manned, partly with their own people and partly with Cingalese, whom the king sent and lent to the French. But the Admiral finding that the King's provisions, and what else could be brought in the island, would not suffice for so great a fleet: was forced to depart for the coast of Coromandel, promising the King by the Ambassador aforementioned, speedily to return again. So leaving some of his men with the King's supplies [*auxiliaries*] to keep the fort till his return: he weighed anchor and set sail. But never came back again. Some reported they were destroyed by a storm; others by the Dutch. The Admiral had sent up to the King great presents, but he would not presently receive them; that it might not seem as if he wanted anything or were greedy of things

brought to him : but since the French returned not according to their promise; he scorned ever after to receive them. At first, he neglected the present out of State; and ever since out of anger and indignation. The French fort at Kottiaar was a little after, easily taken by the Dutch.

But to return to the Ambassador and his retinue. He rode up from Kottiaar on horseback; which was very grand in that country: and being, with his company, gotten somewhat short of the city [of Digligy], was appointed there to stay until an house should be prepared in the city for their entertainment. When it was signified to him that their house was ready for their reception; they were conducted forward by certain nobleman sent by the King, carrying with them a present for his majesty. The Ambassador came riding on horseback into the city, which the noblemen observing, dissuaded him from, and advised him to walk on foot; telling him it was not allowable nor the custom: but he, regarding them not, rode by the palace gate. It offended the King; but he took not much notice of it for the present.

The Ambassador alighted at his lodgings, where he and his companions were nobly entertained; and provisions sent them ready dressed out of the King's palace three times a day. Great plenty they had of all things the country afforded.

After some time, the King sent to him to come to his audience. In great state, he was conducted to the Court; accompanied with several of the nobles that were sent to him. Coming—thus to the Court in the night—as it is the King's usual manner at that season [*time*] to send for foreign ministers, and give them audience—he waited there some small time about two hours or less, the King not yet admitting him. Which he took in such great disdain, and for such an affront that he was made to stay at all; much more so long: that he would tarry no longer but went towards his lodgings. Some about the Court observing this, would have stopped him by elephants that stood in the court, turning them before the gate, through which he was to pass: but he would not so be stopped, but laid his hand upon his sword, as if he meant to make his way by the elephants. The people seeing his resolution, called away the elephants, and let him pass.

As soon as the King heard of it, he was highly displeased; insomuch that he commanded some of his officers, that they should go, and beat them and clap them in chains: which was immediately done to all; excepting the two gentlemen that were first sent up by the Admiral. (For these were not touched, the King reckoning they did not belong unto this Ambassador: neither were they now in his company; excepting that one of them in the combustion got a few blows.) They were likewise disarmed, and so have continued ever since. Upon this the gentlemen, attendants upon the Ambassador, made their complaints to the captain of their guards; excusing themselves and laying all the blame upon their Ambassador: urging "that they were his attendants, and a soldier must obey his commander, and go where he appoints him." Which sayings being told the King, he approved thereof, and commanded them out of chains: the Ambassador still remaining in them, and so continued for six months. After which, he was released from his chains, by means of the entreaties his own men made to the great men in his behalf.

The rest of the Frenchmen, seeing how the Ambassador's imprudent carriage had brought him to this misery, refused any longer to dwell with him: and each of them by the King's permission dwells by himself in the city; being maintained at the King's charge. Three of these—whose names were Monsieur DU PLESSY, son to a gentleman of note in France; and JEAN BLOOM; the third—whose name I cannot tell, but he was the Ambassador's boy—the King appointed to look to his best horse kept in the palace. This horse some time after died, as it is supposed of old age: which extremely troubled the King. And imagining they had been instrumental in his death, by their carelessness: he commanded two of them, Monsieur DU PLESSY and JEAN BLOOM, to be carried away into the mountains, and kept prisoners in chains. Where they remained when I came thence.

The rest of them follow employments: some whereof distil arrack, and keep the greatest taverns in the city.

Lately—a little before I came from the island—the King understanding the disagreements and differences that were still kept on foot betwixt the Ambassador and the rest of his company, disliked it; and used these means to make them

friends. He sent for them all, the Ambassador and the rest; and told them, "that it was not seemly for persons as they were, at such a distance from their own country, to quarrel and fall out; and that if they had any love for GOD or the King of France or himself; they should go home with the Ambassador and agree and live together." They went back together not daring to disobey the King: and as soon as they were at home, the King sent a banquet after them of sweetmeats and fruits to eat together. They did eat the King's banquet; but it would not make the reconcilement. For after they had done, each man went home; and dwelt in their own houses, as they did before. It was thought that this carriage would offend the King, and that he would, at least, take away their allowance: and it is probable, before this time the King hath taken vengeance on them. But the Ambassador's carriage is so imperious, that they would rather venture whatsoever might follow than be subject to him. And in this case I left them.

Since my return to England; I presumed by a letter to inform the French Ambassador then in London of the aforesaid matters: thinking myself bound in conscience and Christian charity to do my endeavour; that their friends knowing their condition, may use means for their deliverance. The letter ran thus.

"*These may acquaint your Excellency, that having been a prisoner in the island of Ceylon, under the King of that country nearly twenty years: by means of this my long detainment there, I became acquainted with the French Ambassador and the other gentlemen of his retinue, being in all eight persons; who were sent to treat with the said King in the year* 1672, *by Monsieur* DE LA HAYE; *who came with a fleet to the port of Kottiaar or Trincomalee, from whence he sent these gentlemen. And knowing that from thence it is scarcely possible to send any letters or notice to other parts—for in all the time of my captivity, I could never send one word whereby my friends here might come to hear of my condition; until with one more, I made an escape, leaving sixteen Englishmen yet there—the kindness I have received from those French gentlemen, as also my compassion for them being detained in the same place with me: have obliged and constrained me to*

presume to trouble your Lordship with this paper; not knowing any other means whereby I might convey notice to their friends and relations, which is all the service I am able to perform for them.

"*The Ambassador's name I know not. There is a kinsman of his, called Monsieur* LE SERLE, *and a young gentleman called Monsieur* DU PLESSY, *and another named Monsieur* LA ROCHE. *The rest, by name I know not.*"

And then an account of them is given, according to what I have mentioned above.

"*I shall not presume to be further tedious to your Honour. Craving pardon for my boldness, which an affection to those gentlemen, being in the same land with me, hath occasioned; concerning whom if your Lordship be pleased further to be informed, I shall be both willing and ready to be.*

"*Yours, &c.*"

The Ambassador upon the receipt of this, desired to speak with me. Upon whom I waited, and he, after some speech with me; told me he would send word into France of it, and gave me thanks for this my kindness to his countrymen.

It may be worth some inquiry, what the reason might be, that the King detains the European people as he does. It cannot be out of hope of profit or advantage, for they are so far from bringing him any, that they are a very great charge; being all maintained either by him or his people. Neither is it in the power of money to redeem any one; for that he neither needs nor values. Which makes me conclude it is not out of profit or envy or ill-will, but out of love and favour, that he keeps them; delighting in their company, and to have them ready at his command.

For he is very ambitious of the service of these men; and winks at many of their failings, more than he uses to do towards his natural subjects.

As may appear from a Company of white soldiers he hath, who upon their watch used to be very negligent; one lying drunk here, and another there: which remissness in his own soldiers, he would scarcely have endured, but it would have cost their lives; but with these, he useth more craft than severity to make them more watchful.

These soldiers are under two Captains, the one a Dutchman and the other a Portuguese. They are appointed to guard one of the King's magazines; where they always keep sentinel, both by day and night. This is a pretty good distance from the Court, and here it was the King contrived their station, that they might swear and swagger out of his hearing, and that nobody might disturb them nor they nobody. The Dutch captain lies at one side of the gate, and the Portuguese at the other.

Once the King, to employ these his white soldiers, and to honour them, by letting them see what an assurance he reposed in them; sent one of his boys thither to be kept prisoner, which they were very proud of. They kept him two years in which time he had learnt both the Dutch and Portuguese language. Afterwards the King retook the boy into his service; and within a short time after, executed him.

But the King's reason in sending this boy to be kept by these soldiers was probably, not as they supposed and as the king himself outwardly pretended, viz.:—to show how much he confided in them, but out of design to make them look the better to their watch, which their debauchery made them very remiss in. For the prisoner's hands only were in chains, and not his legs. So that his possibility of running away, having his legs at liberty; concerned them to be circumspect and wakeful: and they knew if he had escaped it were as much as their lives were worth. By this crafty and kind way did the king correct the negligence of his white soldiers.

Indeed his inclinations are much towards the Europeans, making them his great officers; accounting them more faithful and trusty than his own people. With these he often discourses concerning the affairs of their countries, and promotes to places far above their ability and sometimes their degree or desert. And indeed all over the land they do bear, as it were, a natural respect and reverence to white men; inasmuch as black, they hold to be inferior to white: and they say the gods are white, and that the souls of the blessed after the resurrection will be white; and therefore that black is a rejected and accursed colour.

And as further signs of the King's favour to them, there are many privileges which the white men have and enjoy, as tolerated or allowed them from the King, which I suppose

may proceed from the aforesaid consideration: as, to wear any manner of apparel, either gold, silver or silk, shoes and stockings, a shoulder belt and sword; their houses may be whitened with lime; and many such things: all which the Cingalese are not permitted to do.

He will also sometimes send for them into his presence, and discourse familiarly with them, and entertain them with great civilities; especially white Ambassadors. They are greatly chargeable unto his country, but he regards it not in the least. So that the people are more like slaves unto us, than we to the King: inasmuch as they are enforced by his command to bring us maintenance. Whose poverty is so great oftentimes, that for want of what they supply us with; themselves, their wives and children are forced to suffer hunger. This being as a due tax imposed upon them to pay unto us. Neither can they by any power or authority refuse the payment thereof to us. For in my own hearing, the people once complaining of their poverty and inability to give us any longer our allowance, the magistrate or governor replied, "It was the King's special command, and who durst disannul it? And if otherwise they could not supply us with our maintenance; he bade them sell their wives and children, rather than we should want of our due." Such is the favour that Almighty GOD hath given Christian people in the sight of this heathen King; whose entertainment and usage of them is thus favourable.

If any inquire into the religious exercise and worship practised among the Christians there: I am sorry I must say it; I can give but a slender account. For they have no churches, nor no priests; and so no meetings together on the Lord's days for Divine Worship; but each one reads and prays at his own house, as he is disposed. They sanctify the day chiefly by refraining work, and meeting together at drinking houses. They continue the practice of baptism. And there being no priests, they baptize their children themselves with water, and use the words "In the name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST;" and give them Christian names. They have their friends about them at such a time, and make a small feast, according to

their ability: and some teach their children to say their prayers, and to read; and some do not.

Indeed their religion, at the best, is but negative, that is, they are not heathen; they do not comply with the idolatry here practised: and they profess themselves Christians in a general manner; which appears by their names, and by their beads and crosses, that some of them wear about their necks.

Nor indeed can I wholly clear them from compliance with the religion of the country. For some of them, when they are sick do use the ceremonies which the heathen do in the like case: as in making idols of clay, and setting them up in their houses, and offering rice to them; and having weavers to dance before them. But they are ashamed to be known to do this: and I have known none to do it, but such as are Indian born. Yet I never knew any of them, that do inwardly in heart and conscience incline to the ways of the heathen; but perfectly abhor them. Nor have there been any, I ever heard of, that came to their temples, upon any religious account; but only would stand by and look on: without it were one old priest, named Padre VERGONSE, a Genoese born and of the Jesuit's order; who would go to the temples and eat with the weavers and other ordinary people, of the sacrifices offered to the idols. But with this apology for himself; "That he ate it as common meat and as GOD's creature; and that it was never the worse for the superstition that had passed upon it."

But however this may reflect upon the Father, another thing may be related for his honour. There happened two priests to fall into the hands of the King, on whom he conferred great honours. For having laid aside their habits, they kept about his person; and were the greatest favourites at Court. The King, one day, sent for VERGONSE, and asked him if it would not be better for him to lay aside his old coat and cap; and to do as the other two priests had done, and receive honour from him. He replied to the King, "That he boasted more in that old habit, and in the name of JESUS; than in all the honour that he could do him." And so refused the King's honour. The King valued the Father for this saying.

He had a pretty library about him, and died in his bed of old age: whereas the two other priests in the King's service, died miserably; one of a cancer, and the other was slain.

The old priest had about thirty or forty books; which the king, they say, seized on after his death, and keeps.

These priests and more, lived there; but were all deceased, excepting VERGONSE, before my time. The King allowed them to build a church. Which they did, and the Portuguese assembled there. But they made no better than a bawdy house of it. For which cause, the King commanded to pull it down.

Although here be Protestants and Papists, yet here are no differences kept up among them; but they are as good friends as if there were no such parties: and there is no other distinction of religion there, but only heathens and Christians; and we usually say, "We Christians."

FINIS.

Curiously enough, the name of this native King does not transpire in the above narrative. It was Rajah SINGHA the Second. He lived till 1687.

The names of places in the original work have been corrected by those in that most valuable Map of Ceylon, by Major-General JOHN FRASER.

A RELATION

Of the Retaking of the

ISLAND

OF

S^TA HELENA,

And Three

Dutch East-India SHIPS.

Published by Authority.

In the *Savoy*,
Printed by Thomas Newcomb.
M. DC. LXXIII.

A Relation of the Retaking of the Island of Sainta Helena; and three Dutch East India ships.

ON THE 4th of May [1673] last, in the morning, we came in sight of the isle of Saint Helena. In two hours afterwards; we had concluded what to do for the retaking of the island: and ordered 200 men with field colours and officers, who were appointed to be put on board a vessel, out of which they might be landed; whilst we attacked the ships in the road, in case there should be any there.

About eleven in the forenoon, the *Assistance* frigate made sail, that we might be near in the night, to discover the strength of the road: the rest of our ships having furled all their sails, lay so till the evening, and came in to us in the night.

The next morning, about seven o'clock, all our ships being to the windward of the isle about five miles: our boat came on board, and told us that the road was clear. So we immediately put 200 men more, on board the *Castle* fireship; and left her and the other vessel to land our 400 men to the windward of the island, in Prosperous Bay.

The four Men of War made sail for the forts, against which we anchored about one in the afternoon; and after four hours' dispute [*firing*], went to the westward, and there let go our anchor again: being confident our men must have landed and gained the hills before that time; and that by the next morning, we might expect them on the back of the forts, against which time it was resolved to have the *William and Thomas* and one ship more, close under the fort. The

Dutch no sooner saw us come up again, and that we did not intend to leave them: but they came off, and yielded the island upon condition that they might not be stripped; which we accepted. They not yet knowing of any army that we had landed.

At sunset we took possession of James' Fort, and despatched a trumpeter to Captain KEIGWIN, commander of our land force, to acquaint him with what had passed; and to prevent any injury that might be done to the isle by our men in their march to the fort.

On the 11th, between seven and eight in the evening, a ship appeared in sight with a flag aloft; which we cut after, and by eleven at night came up with her, and took her: which proved to be one of the Dutch East India fleet, sent before [*in advance*] with the new Governor for Saint Helena.

On the 26th, early in the morning, we saw our flags on the mount hoisted; which gave us an account that there were six sail in sight. About ten in the forenoon, wehad advice that four were coming one way and two the other: who immediately appeared in sight at both ends of the island. They no sooner saw us; but they clapped by a wind, and we after them: the *Assistance*, the *William and Thomas*, and the *Castle* fireship, with one Merchantman to the eastward, after four: the *Mary and Martha*, with two other Merchantmen, to the westward, after two; but it being a very hard gale, we could do nothing on them.

At night the *Assistance* got up with their Vice-Admiral, and the *William and Thomas* with their Admiral; with whom they kept company all night: and the 27th in the morning, took them; but not in company one with the other, every ship steering his own course, believing by that to lose us.

The said four Men of War, fireship, and three Dutch East India prizes; together with five English East India ships who came in company with the Men of War; are since safely arrived.

FINIS.

INDEX

ABBESSE, THE, II. 173-174.
Abex, II. 43-44.
Acapulco, I. xxi, xxiv, 206, 268, 287.
Achen, King of, II. 42, 46-48.
Ackbar, Emperor, I. xxvii, 301, 303-304, 330.
Acklow, II. 173.
Adam's Peak, II. 304.
Adams, Robert, II. 144.
Africa, Early Portuguese knowledge of, II. xiii, *n.*
Agra, I. 330.
Agua Secura, I. 288.
Albergaria, Lopo Soares de, II. xxiii.
Albertus, Don, II. 6.
Albuquerque, Alfonso de, II. xxiii.
—— Matthias de, I. 316-319, 325; II. 37, 49-50, 114.
Alcantraz Island, I. 38.
Alençon, Duke of, II. 29.
Aleppo, I. xix, 135, 139 *sqq.*; II. 28.
Alexandria, I. 135, 139 *sqq.*
Alfhuisen, Gerrard Van, I. 331; II. 83-84, 110.
Algiers, II. 154-155, 178-180.
Allahabad, I. 330.
Allen, Richard, II. 262.
Alligator, I. 226.
Alloot Newera, II. 307.
Alva, Don Lorenzo de, I. 177.
—— Duke of, I. xvi, 129-130; ii. 3-4.
Ambassador, The French, II. 424.
Ambassadors in Ceylon, II. 415, 427; Dutch, 416-418, 346-347; French, 421-425.
America, Description of North, I. 162 *sqq.*
Angel, The, I. xv, 113, 118 *sqq.*, 174, 222 *sqq.*
Angola, II. 136, 145-146, 149.
Angra, I. 23; II. 93 *sqq.*; description of, 98-99; W. I. Fleet there, 197-198.
Anne of Austria, II. 3.
Anthonie, William, II. 145, 147.
Antonio, Don, I. 215-216, 313, 316-317; II. 3, 6, 92, 187, 189, 196.
Antony, William, II. 207-208
Aquilhas Cape das, II. 79-80.
Arabs, I. 298-302, 309-311; II. xxii.
Arctic voyages, II. xi.
Argire, *see* Algiers.
Arica, I. 284-285.
Aripo Fort, ii. 398.
Armada, Spanish, II. 92, 108, 160.
Arreliqias, II. 39-42.
Ascension, II. 88.
Aucher, Sir Anthony, I. 1, 2, 4.
Augsburg, II. 55.
Auto da Fé, I. 21.
Aviles, Pero Menendez de, II. xix.
Azavedo, Jerome, II. xxiv.
Azores, I. 22, 154; II. 6; Linschoten there, 90 *sqq.*; description, 97 *sqq.*; earthquake there, 115; cyclone there, 121; Sir John Borrough there, 133 *sqq.*; the Earl of Cumberland there, 186 *sqq.*
Aztecs, I. xxiv.

BABYLON, *see* Bagdad.
Badajos, II. 3-4.
Badoola, II. 307.
Bagdad, I. xxvii, 229-300, 310-311; II. 28.
Bahamas, I. 281.
Baker, Matthew, I. 5.
Ballads, I. 294.
Balma, I. 162.
Balsora, *see* Bussorah.
Baltic, I. ix.
Bantam, II. 407.
Barbary, II. 6, 28, 40, 170.
Bardes, II. 19-20, 38, 48.
Barley, William, II. 151.
Barrutti, II. 182.

Bartandono, II. 118-119.
Bartholomew Island, I. 283.
Bassan, Don Alonso de, II. 113, 117, 133, 144.
Bassas da India, *see* India, Shoals of.
Bastimentos Island, II. 239-240.
Barret, Robert, I. 181, 196-198, 228, 236 *sqq.*, 302, 308-309.
—— William, I. 302, 308-309.
Batticalloe, I. 331; II. 301, 303.
Batticola, Queen of, II. 57.
Batuta, John, II. xxii.
Bedford, Earl of, I. 256, 261.
Bedonne, Thomas, II. 137.
Belligam, II. 414.
Benares, I. 330.
Benin, I. x.
Beyrout, II. 182.
Bhar, II. 58-59.
Bible, Geneva, II. 330-332.
Bimba, Village of, I. 43.
Bintenne, II. 302, 307.
Bir, I. 230, 297-298.
Biscay, New, I. 267, 288.
Bitumen, I. 302.
Blake, Thomas, I. ix, 7, 18.
Blanco, Cape, I. 37.
Bland, Captain, I. 184, 222, 230.
Bodenham, Roger, I. viii, 1-5, 26-28.
Bonder, Coswat, II. 324 *sqq.*
Boswell, Captain, II. 186.
Bourne, Nicholas, II. 221.
Bowyer, Sir William, II. 182, 184.
Braintree, II. 152.
Brava, II. 43.
Brazil, I. xi, 282; II. xvi *n.*, 12-13, 98, 100, 107, 112, 201-220.
Bresil, II. 98, 100, 105, 195.
—— Castle, II. 198.
Breton, Cape, I. xvii, 161 *sqq.*, 318.
Bristol, I. 8.
Broecke, Bernard Ten, II. ix.
Browne, Richard, I. 161 *sqq.*, 187, 198.
Buen Jesus, The, II. 136.
Burboroata, I. xiv, 50-55, 225.
Burborough Water, *see* Burboroata.
Burcherts, Bernard, II. viii, 28.
Burleigh, Lord, *see* Cecil, Sir William.
Burrough, Sir John, II. 129-141.
Bussorah, I. xxvii, 300-301, 311; II. 35.

CADIZ, I. i, 8, 10; II. 132, 264.
Cagliari, II. 216, 220.
Calicut, II. 24, 60.
California, *see* Biscay, New.
Calpentyn, II. 302.
Camara, Ruy Gonsalves de, II. 34, 43.
Cambaia, I. 314; II. 23.
Camels, I. 35.
Campeche, *see* Yucatan.
Campion, Jasper, I. xix, 132-138.
Canaries, I. ix-x, 9, 153, 174, 264, 281-282; II. 229.
Candia, I. 2, 5, 148, 182-183.
Cao, Diego, II. xxii.
Cape of Good Hope, I. 289-290; II. 12-14, 29, 33, 38, 63, 68-69, 75, 81-83, 110, 149.
Capling, William, II. 182.
Capul, I. xxv, 289.
Carania, The Dom Jesus de, II. 27, 39.
Careless, Edward, *see* Wright, Edward.
Carmosel, Greek, I. 252.
Carrack, Internal economy of a, II. 8-11.
Carreiro, Bras, II. 149.
Cartagena, I. 95-96, 176, 227; II. 242, 254, 257.
Carvalho, Bernadine de, II. 45.
Castelin, Edward, I. 10.
Castro, Don Pedro de, II. 18.
Cativaas, II. 252.
Caulfield, Captain, II. 134.
Cavallios, I. 214, 270.
Cave, George, II. 145-147.
Cavendish, Thomas, I. xxii, xxiv; Voyage round world, 281 *sqq.*; letter of, 291; II. 77, 83, 110.
Cecil, Sir William, Lord Burleigh, I. vii, xiii, 83, 87, 89, 127.
Ceely, Christopher, II. 221.
Cephalonia, I. 260.
Ceylon, I. 332; II. xx-xxiv, 45, 295 *sqq.* description, 301 *sqq.*; provinces of, 302-303; Thorn Gates, 314; ambassadors, 415-425; rebellion in, 348-352.
Chagres, river of, II. 241-242, 272.
Chamberlayne, John, I. 260.
Champaigne, Monsieur, I. 163, 171.
Chancellor, Richard, I. ix, 5.
Charles V., I. x.
Chaul, I. 314-315; II. 34, 45.
Cheripa, I. 285.
Chiapa, I. 284, 292.
Chichemics, I. 185, 232, 274-276.
Chili, I. 284, 292.
Chilton, John, I. xviii, xxi, 263 *sqq.*
—— Leonard, I. 10.

China, I. 290; II. viii, xxi-xxii, 39, 42, 55, 83, 94, 268, 304-305.
Cholula, I. 266.
Cimaroons, II. xviii, 85 *sqq.*, 232 *sqq.*
Cingalese, character, etc., II. 310-313.
—— marriages, II. 363.
—— practice of detaining white men, II. xxiv.
Cintra, II. 2.
Ciudad Real, *see* Zacatlan.
Claesz, Cornelius, II. xi.
Clarke, William, I. 108-109.
Clifford, George, *see* Cumberland, Earl of.
Cochin, I. 332; II. viii, 14-15, 21, 26-29, 38-41, 44-45, 56, 60, 62-63, 68.
Cochineal, I. 28, 208.
Cockle, Abraham, II. 136.
Coligny, II. xvi *n*, xix.
Collier, James, I. 232.
Colliwilla, II. 380.
Colombo, II. xxiii, 45, 301-302, 351, 401-406, 413-414.
Colonna, Prince Vespasian Gonzago, I. 151.
Comoro Islands, II. 19.
Compass, Variation of the, I. 154.
Compostella, I. 287.
Conde, Uda, II. 295 *sqq.*
Condé, II. xxiii.
Constantinople, I. 256.
Content, The, I. xxiv, 281 *sqq.*
Cookooe, *see* Kabyles.
Coromandel, II. xxiv, 315.
Cormorin, Cape, I. 332.
Coron, I. 135.
Corrientes, Cape, II. 14.
Cortes, Hernando, I. 16, 267, 269.
Corunna, II. 111, 113.
Corvo,
Costa Rica, I. 270.
Cotteragom, II. 309.
Cotton wool, I. 134, 273-277.
Coutinho, Antonio d'Azevedo, II. 37.
—— Manuel de Sousa, II. 45, 50.
Covilhão, Pero de, II. xxiv.
Crosse, Sir Robert, II. 132, 137-139.
Cuama, river, II. xiii *n*.
Cuba, I. 65, 66, 96, 270-271.
Cumana, I. 48.
Cumberland, Earl of, I. viii; II. xiv, 93, 96, 100-101, 103-105, 136, 145, 186-212.
Cumina, I. 161.
Curaçao, I. 55-56, 172, 225.
Cyprus, II. 182.

Dainty, The, II. 137-138.
Darien, Gulf of, II. xvi.
Davis, John, II. 190, 197, 200.
Deccan, II. xxiv, 47.
Depositions in Admiralty Court, I. 104-126.
Desire, The, I. xxiv-xxv, 281 *sqq.*; II. xxiv, 47, 77, 82.
Desmund, Earl of, II. 209.
Detavora, Ruy Lorenzo, II. 20.
Diaz, Bartholomew,
Dickenson, Miles, I. 246.
Diego, Don, II. 5.
Dier, Andrew, 249-251.
Digligly, Newera, II. 307, 349.
Dingle, II. 209-211.
Disdain, The, II. 130.
Dog, The, II. 127.
Dollosbage, II. 303.
Dolphin, The, I. viii; II. xiv, 213.
Dominica, I. 46-47, 176, 281; II. 229.
Doria, Juanette, I. 133.
—— Pedro, I. 133.
Dorives, Juan, II. 103.
Downton, Nicholas, II. 136, 145.
Draak, Hendrick, II. 417.
Dragon, The, II. 228.
'Dragontea,' II. xv, xix.
Drake, Sir Francis, I. viii, xvi, xxi, 85, 87; his first command, 222, 224; at Acapulco, 206-208, 268; his alleged desertion of Hawkins, 230; at the Moluccas, I. 317; revived, II. xv-xx, 221 *sqq.*
—— —— (nephew), II. 221, 223.
—— John, II. 262.
—— Joseph, II. 263.
Ducket, Lionel, I. xi-xv, 29.
Dudley, Captain, I. 222, 224.
Dupleix, II. xxiv.

EDDYSTONE, II. 212.
Eldred, John, I. xx, xxvi-xxviii, 295 *sqq.*, 312-314.
Elizabeth, Queen, I. x, xiii, xix, 84-88, 220, 256, 292, 303-305; II. 143, 224-225.
Elledat, II. 361-362, 346, 368.
Elmo, St., I. 14; II. 71.
Elvas, II. 4.
Embden, II. 187.

Enkhuizen, II. vii-viii, xi, 1, 53, 55, 126.
—— Zeekaeitbock, II. xxii.
Essex, Walter, Earl of, II. 226.
Ethiopia, I. xxi, 289.
Euphrates, I. 297-298, 332.
Evinquez, Martin, I. xviii.
Exchange, The Royal, II. 145-150.
Eyrus, William, II. 184-185.

FA HIEN, II. xxi-xxii.
Fayal, II. 91, 101, 103, 110-111, 146, 149, 190-194.
Felugia, 297-298.
Fereia, Duke and Duchess of, I. 128-129.
Ferrol, II. 116.
Field, John, I. 7-15.
Figari, Gasnar, 411.
Finisterre, Cape, I. 174; II. 2.
Fitch, Ralph, I. xx, xxvi, xxviii, 295 *sqq.*, 318; II. vii-viii.
Fitzwilliams, I. 127-130.
Flamingo, I. 169.
Flemish Isles, *see* Azores.
Florida, I. 65 *sqq.*; description, 74-79, 161, 281; II. xiv, xvi, xix, 106.
Floves, Alvar de Quintones, II. 104.
—— Alvaro de, II. 107, 109.
—— Island of, II. 90, 101, 134, 136, 150, 156, 188-189.
Flying Fish, I. 156.
Fones, Humphrey, I. 113.
Fonseca, Archbishop Vincente de, I. 317; II. 6-7, 13, 20-21, 28.
Foresight, The, II. 130, 132, 137-139.
Formentera, Island of, II. 155.
Forrest, George, II. 184.
Foukers, II. 55.
Foves, I. 291.
Fowler, William, I. 104, 106-108.
Fox, I. xix-xx.
—— John, I. 139 *sqq.*
France, Isle de, II. xxiv.
Francisco, Rio, II. 233.
Frobisher, Sir Martin, II. 111, 130-133, 212.

GALLE, POINT DE, II. xxiii-xxiv, 301.
Gallipoli, I. 149-150.
Ganges, II. xxi.
Garland, The, II. 130-131.
Garrard, Sir William, I. xv, xxiii *n.*, 108-109, 115 *sqq.*
Garrett, John, II. xvii, 230-231.
Gata, Cabo de, II. 153.
Gauluda Mountains, II. 308.
Genoa, II. 155-156.
Gerritzs, Dirck, II. viii, 55.
Giffard, George, II. 131.
Goa, II. vii, xxi, 1, 14, 15, 18-24.
Goddard, Anthony, I. 186 *sqq.*, 232.
Goddaponahoy, II. 302.
Godolphin, Sir Francis, II. 212.
Golden Dragon, The, II. 136, 138.
Gomeral, Isle of, I. 222.
Gomez, Diego, II. 193.
Gons, Riklof van, Governor of Colombo, II. 402-404.
Gonsalves, Antam, I. x.
—— Peter, II. 71.
Gonson, Matthew, I. x.
—— Richard, II. 183.
—— William, II. 183-184.
—— *The Matthew*, I. 136-139; II. 184.
Gosson, Henry, II. 212.
Grace, Françoise de, II. xix.
Grace of God, The, I. 119, 222, 230.
Graciosa, II. 91, 101, 103, 121, 195-197.
Grant, Captain, II. 146-148.
Gray, Richard, II. 184.
Gregory, John, II. 323, 335.
Grenada, I. 47.
Grenville, Sir Richard, I. xxii, 281; death, II. 116-118, 189.
Gresham, John, II. 182.
—— William, II. 182.
Grimvaldo, Cyprian, II. 31.
Guatemala, I. 213, 268-270, 272, 286.
Guadeloupe, II. 229.
Guascaca, I. 268.
Guayaquil, I. xxiv.
Guayra, La, I. 50.
Guinea, I. 91, 94, 174-175, 219 *sqq.*, 282; II. 98, 107.
Guinea, Coast of, I. x, xiii; II. 11.
Gulf Stream, I. 67-68.
Gunson, William, II. 182.
Gunston, I. 29.

HAARLEM, II. vii.
Hakluyt, Rev. Richard, I. vii, ix, xiv *n.*, 29, 161, 306-307; II. xiv, 127, 142, 181-184.
Hamburg, II. viii, 28, 54.
Hammah, I. 296.
Hampton, John, I. 184.
—— Thomas, I. 105.

Handapondown, II. 356.
Handapoul, II. 328.
Hanse, Traders, I. ix, xiii.
Hartop, Job, I. xvi, xvii, 219 *sqq.*
Hastleton, Richard, I. viii; II. xiii, 152-180.
Havanna, I. 66, 214, 270-271; II. xv, xix, 102, 107, 112, 123.
Havre, II. xvii, xix, 186.
Hawkins, Sir John, I. vii-xix, xxi; first voyage, ix-xii, 29-30; second voyage, xiii, xv, 31-80; third voyage, xv-xx, 81-130, 161-242; deposition, 109-113; pretended treachery, 127-130; II. iii, xviii; attempted assassination, I. 228.
—— William (Senr.), I. vii, ix, x.
—— —— (Junr.), I. 83-90.
Haye, De la, Admiral, II. 421.
Hell Gate, II. 212.
Henriquez, Don Martin de, *see* Indies, Viceroy of.
Henry, Don, King of Portugal, II. 3.
Herbeistein, Sigismund von, I. ix.
Hevahatt, II. 307.
Hevoihattay, II. 302.
Hickman, Anthony, I. 10.
Hiouen, Thsang, II. xxii.
Hippopotamus, I. 222.
Hispaniola, *see* San Domingo.
Hixom, Ellis, II. 221, 241, 264, 279.
Holstocke, William, II. 183-184.
Holy Cross, The, II. 183.
Honawur, II. 56-57.
Honduras, I. 268, 270, 271.
Hooghly, I. 331.
Hooke, Robert, II. xx.
Hooper, John, I. 186-187.
Hotkorle, II. 302, 324.
Hotterakorle, II. 303, 357, 412.
Howard, Lord Thomas, II. 116, 130, 232.
Huescotzinco, I. 266.
Huguenots, I. xiv, 69-74; II. xvi, xix.
Hunsdon, Lord, I. 291.

INDIA COMPANY, II. xiv, xxviii, 142; Committees of, 297-300, 407.
—— Overland route to, I. 295 *sqq.*
—— Shoals of, II. 40.
Indias, Historia Natural y Moral de las. II. xi.
Indies, Archbishop of, *see* Fonseca Vincente de.
Indies, Viceroy of the, I. xviii, 110-111, 178 *sqq.*; funeral of, ii. 18 *sqq.*, 48; election of, 49.
—— West, I. 82, 176 *sqq.*; II. 131-132; value of money there, I. 105.
Ingram, David, I. xvi-xvii, 186-187.
Inquisition, The, I. 23, 197 *sqq.*, 216, 240; II. 156 *sqq.*
Itinerario (Linschoten's), I. viii; II. vii-xii.
Ivan, the Terrible, I. ix.

JAFFNAPATAM, II. 301.
Jaguars, I. 225.
Jalapa, I. 213.
Jamaica, I. 62-64, 270.
Janissaries, I. 247-248, 296-297.
Japan, II. viii, 22, 39, 42, 54-55, 94.
Japanese Princes, II. 22-23.
Java, I. xxvi, 289-290; II. 83.
Jenkinson, Anthony, I. xxvii.
Jesuits, I. 317-318, 326-329; II. 22-23.
Jesus of Lubeck, The, I. xiii, xv, xviii, 115 *sqq.*, 173 *sqq.*, 222 *sqq.*
Joosten, Hugghen, II. 29.
Jor, II. 42, 46.
Judith, The, I. xv-xvi, 85, 174, 222,
Junk, Chinese, I. 290; II. 83.

KABYLES, THE, II. 170-179.
Kaffirs, II. 33, 86.
Kalliwilla, *see* Colliwilla.
Kandy, II. xxiii, xiv, 4, 5, 8, 41-43, 55, 58, 306, 409.
—— King of, II. 302 *sqq.*; his jealousy of letters, 343-345; his European guard, 426.
Kaufmann, Gerard, II. xiv.
Kelley, Captain, II. 217-219.
Khi-nie, II. xxi.
Knox, Robert (Senr.), II. xx, 295, 315-326,
—— —— (Junr.), I. viii; II. xx, xxi, xxiv, 295-429.
Kottemalle Oya, River, II. 304.
Kottiar, Fort, II. 422.

LADRONES, I. xxv, 288.
Lagoondenia, II. 357-360.
Laguna La, I. 10.
Land's End, I. 1.
Lanka, II. xxi.
Las Casas, I. x.
Laudonnière, I. xiv, 71.
Laurenço, II. xxiii.

Lawrence, Island of St., *see* Madagascar.
Leaguers, II. 186, 197.
Leauava, II. 308-309.
Lebanon, Mount, I. 296.
Leedes, William, I. 305, 318, 330; II. vii, viii.
Lepanto, Gulf of, II. xiv, 153.
Levant, Antiquity of English trade in, II. xiv.
—— trade with the, II. 182.
Limehouse, II. 153.
Lingua Franca, II. 171.
Linschoten, Jan Huggen van, I. viii, 290, 318, 324; II. vii-viii, xxiii-xxiv, 1, 129, 148, 190.
Linschoten's *Itinerario*, I. viii; II. vii-x.
Linschoten, Village of, II. vii.
Lion, The, 264, 285.
Lisbon, I. 152; II. vii, 2-7, 23, 92, 113, 124.
—— River of, II. 90, 124.
Lister, Captain Christopher, II. 186, 191, 195-196, 199-200, 212.
Llagas, Las Cinque, II. 27, 145-150.
Lock, Michael, I. 136.
—— Sir William, II. 182.
Lodge, Sir Thomas, I. 29.
Longe, Henry, II. 186.
Loveland, John, II. 316, 323.
Lovell, Captain, I. xv, 95, 228.
Luçon, I. 227, 236.
Luxan, Francisco de, I. xviii.

MACE, WILLIAM, II. 127-128.
Madagascar, I. xxi, 15, 17; II. xxiv, 14, 15, 27, 29, 68.
Madeira, I. 153; II. 7, 11, 228.
Madras, II. 315.
Madre de Dios, II. 129, 136, 137-144.
Magdalena, II. 246-248, 291; I. 224.
Magellan's Straits, I. xxii, 111, 282, 292; II. 3, 22, 83.
Mahavilla Ganga, II. 303-304.
Marignolli, Bishop John de, II. xxii.
Majorca, I. 1; II. 156-157.
Malabar, II. viii, 21, 23, 24, 39, 54, 56, 110, 393-395, 408.
Malacca, I. 331; II. 15, 38, 42, 43, 46-48, 68, 70, 82-83, 93-94, 110, 113, 116, 123.
Maldive, II. 68, 339.
Malo, St., II. 186, 197.
Malta, I. 2, 133.
Man, Henry, II. 342, 343.
Manaar, Isle of, II. 301, 399.
Mangate River, II. 63.
Manilla, I. xxv.
Maps, II. x.
Marco Polo, II. xxii.
Margaret, The, II. 186, 197, 201.
Margarita, I. xviii, 47, 95, 176, 225.
Marksbury, Captain, II. 190.
Martenson, Cornelius, II. 120.
Mary Marten, The, II. 153, 154.
—— Queen of Scots, I. 127-130.
Mary's, St., Island, II. 199-200.
Mascharhenas, I. 314; II. 20, 25, 26.
Matella, II. 302.
Maximilian, Emperor, II. 4, 5.
May Flower, The, II. 145-147.
May, River of, I. 69, 70, 166.
Mecameca, I. 208.
Medina, Duke of, I. 129, 130.
Meg, The, II. 186.
Mello, Martin Alonzo, II. 43, 44.
Mendoza, Fernando de, II. 31, 140.
Meneses, Don Duarte, II. 27-28, 48.
Mervin, Captain, II. 186.
Messina, I. 1, 2, 5; II. 184.
Mesticlan, I. 192.
Mexico, I. viii-ix, 7-23, 26-28, 182 *sqq.*, 194, 234, 263, 266, 286-288, 292; II. 106, 127, 132.
Meztitlan, I. 273.
Michaelson, William, II. 127.
Mina, El, I. 94.
Minion, The, I. x *n.*, xiii *n.*, xv-xvi, 32 *sqq.*, 89, 222 *sqq.*; II. 281-282.
Modon, I. 135.
Moluccas, I. xxvi, 270-289, 292; II. 94.
Money, Values of, I. 320.
Monomotapa, II. 17.
Monson, Sir William, II. 186, 191.
Montezuma, I. 16.
Moore, Thomas, II. 244.
Mosquitos, I. 11, 817.
Mounts Bay, I. 89.
Mozambique, I. 15, 17.
Munday, Anthony, I. 139.
Muscovy, I. ix, xi-xii.

NATAL, II. 14, 73.
Nautilus, I. 153.
Navarre, I. 88; II. 111, 284.
Navidad, I. 268, 287.
Navigation, Certain Errors in, II. xiv.
Navigations, Principal, Hakluyt's, I. vii, viii.
Needles, Cape of, II. 79-80.

Negombo, II. 302.
Negroes, I. 38-44, 174-175; their commercial value, 106-107.
Nellembe, Newera, II. 307, 348.
New Spain, II. 122, *see* Mexico.
Newberie, John, I. viii, xxvi, 295, 301, 303 *sqq.*; II. vii-viii.
Newcomb, Thomas (printer), II. 433.
Newfoundland, II. 80-187, 197.
Newport, Christopher, II. 136-137.
Nicaragua, I. 270.
Nichols, Philip, II. 215-219, 221.
Nicolu, II. 35.
Niger, II. xiii *n.*
Nilus, river, II. xiii *n.*
Nombre de Dios, I. 272; II. xvi, xviii, 221, 232, 272, 276.
Norado, Patrone, I. 247.
Norfolk, Duke of, II. 184.
Norris, Sir John, II. 92.
Norton, Captain, II. 136, 139.
Nwerakalowe, II. 302, 409.

OCHON, FERNANDO, I. xi.
Oodanowera, II. 61, 302.
Ooddaboolat, II. 303, 307.
Oowah, II. 302, 307.
Opdam, Admiral, II. 344.
Orange, Prince of, II. 29.
Oristano, II. 220.
Ormus, I. 1-27, 290-300, 312, 314-316, 319 *sqq.*; II. 27 *sqq.*, 82.
—— Queen of, II. 37.
Osborne, Sir Edward, I. 305-313.
Ostuage, II. 184.
Overy, John, II. 232.
Oxenham, John, II. 235, 237-238, 250, 272, 290.

PACHUCA, I. 192.
Pacific, I. 264, 268, 284 *sqq.*
—— Drake's first sight of, II. 269.
Pagoda, II. 58-59.
Palaesimundus, II. xxi.
Palibothra, II. xxi.
Palma, II. 156-170.
Palmas, I. 34.
Paludanus, II. ix, xii.
Panama, I. 272; II. xv, 264, 270.
Panane, II. 24, 60.
Pangiin, II. 20.
Pannco, I. 186, 188, 231-233, 273-274.
Panowa, II. 302.
Pascha, The, II. 228, 246, 290.
Pate, II. 43.
Patna, I. 331.
Patras, II. 153.
Pay of Mariners, II. 9-10.
Pearls, I. 95, 162-163, 176.
Pedro, Chief of Cimaroons, II. 274, 292-293.
Pegu, I. 331.
Pelican, The, II. 77.
Pembroke, Earl of, I. xiii.
Penedo de San Pedro, II. 89.
Penguin Island, I. 283.
Pepper, II. 54-55, 57, 60.
Pereira, Don Paula de Lima, II. 45-46, 70.
—— Pedro Homen, II. 35-37.
—— Nuno Velio, II. 18, 148.
Pernambuco, II. 112, 202.
Perota, I. 265.
Persia, I. 306-307; II. 23, 44
—— Shah of, 34-35, 39.
Persia Merchant, The, II. 339-345.
Peru, I. 264, 272, 285, 292; II. xv.
Pezoro, Signior, II. 281-283.
Pheasant, Port, II. xvi, 229-230, 232.
Philip II., I. xvi, 7, 129, 151; II. xii, xvii, xix, 3, 5-6, 59, 191.
Philip, Don, Prince of Spain, II. 5.
Phillipines, I. 268, 288; II. 83.
Phillips, Miles, I. xvi, 173 *sqq.*
Phoenix, The, II. 134.
Pichet, John, II. 184.
Pico, II. 121, 134, 149, 191-192.
Pines, Isle of, I. 64.
Placentia, I. xvii, 225.
Plummer, Thomas, II. 184.
Poncipot, II. 302.
Ponte, Pedro de, I. xii-xiii, 34-35.
Poove, Leonard, I. 316-324.
Pope, The, I. 268; II. 7, 22, 29.
Popocatapetl, I. 266.
Portaloon, II. 308.
Porto Nova, II. 316.
Porto Rico, I. 281.
Porto Santo, I. 153; II. 11, 229.
Potatoes, I. 48.
Prester, John, II. xxiv.
Preston, Sir Amyas, II. 199, 212.
Puebla de los Angeles, I. 27-28, 208, 265-266.
Puerta Escondido, II. xvi.
Pula, Cape, II. 216.
Puna, Island of, I, xxiv, 286.

QUINAL, II. 58, 59.
Quintera, Bay of, I. 284.

Quittimane, II. xiii, *n.*
Quoglilican, I. 193.

RALEIGH, SIR WALTER, II. 129-133, 137, 190.
Raunce, James, I. 174; II. xvii, 232-233, 242.
Red Sea, II. 34-35, 43, 110.
Revenge, The, II. 116, 120.
Revera, Don Pedro, I. 177.
Ribero, Bernardine, II. 112.
Rio de la Hacha, I. xv, xvii, 57-62, 95, 176, 225; II. xv.
Rio de la Plata, II. 13.
Rio Diego, II. 250-251.
Rio Francisco, II. 285-286, 288, 289.
Rio Grande, *see* Magdalena.
Roca, Cape, II. 2.
Rochelle, II. 187.
Roebuck, The, II. 132, 137.
Rome, II. 184.
—— Bishop of, I. 130.
Rotterdam, II. 187.
Russia, I. ix.

SA, CONSTANTINE, II. 410.
St. Antonio, Cape, II. xx, 293.
St. Bernard's, Island of, II. 253.
St. Helena, I. 290; II. 43, 44, 63, 81, 83-84, 90, 112, 136.
St. George's Island, II. 91, 121, 134, 194, 200.
St. George Ford, *see* Madras.
St. Lucas, Cape, I. 288.
St. Michael, II. 115.
St. Vincent, Cape, II. 2, 109, 111-112.
Salamanca, II. 3.
Salinas, I. 188-189.
Sambos, The, a Tribe, I. 39-40.
Samorin, II. 23-24.
Sampson, Captain, II. 219.
Sampson, The, II. 139, 145-147.
San Benito, I. 21, 202, 204.
San Bernardo, II. 242.
San Bernardo, The, II. 136.
San Christophero, II. 136.
San Domingo, II. xv.
San Felipe, The, I. xxviii; II. 7, 12, 15, 20, 23, 39, 43.
San Felipe (Town of), I. xxiii.
San Francisco, II. 7, 12, 13, 15, 19-20, 29.
San Jago, II. 7, 15, 19, 20, 29, 40.
San Jago, The, II. 140.
San Juan d'Ulloa, *see* Ulua.
San Lucar, II. vii.
San Lorenza, II. 7, 15, 20, 23, 29, 43.
San Paulo, The, II. 117.
San Philip, *see* San Felipe.
San Salvador, I. 270; II. 7, 29, 39, 44, 82, 97.
San Thomas, The, II. 33, 39, 51, 68, 71, 73, 77.
Sanders, Thomas, I. 241 *sqq.*
Sanguisceu, II. 24-25.
Santa Anna, The, I. xxiv, 288.
Santa Clara, The, II. 129, 132.
Santa Cruz, I. 64; II. 94, 97, 134.
—— Marquis of, II. 5, 6.
Santa Cruz, The, II. 55 *sqq.*, 91, 129, 134-136.
Santo Domingo, *see* San Domingo.
Santa Maria, I. 191; II. 87-88, 100.
Santa Marta, I. 226, 229, 259.
Santiago de Cuba, I. 271.
Sapies, The, I. 38, 40.
Sardinia, II. 216.
Sargasso Sea, II. 89-90.
Sarmiento, Pedro, I. xxiii, 283.
Sarre, Ralph, I. 10.
Sattee, II. 213, 216.
Saucy Jack, The, II. 190, 195.
Scilly Isles, II. xx.
Scio, I. viii, xix, 1-5, 132-138; II. 182-185.
Seaman's Triumph, The, II. 138, 139, 141-142.
Sebastian, King of Portugal, II. 6, 28, 40.
Serendib, II. xxii.
Serizo, Gonzalo, I. 18.
Setubal, II. 54, 105, 119, 124.
Seville, I. 23, 27, 106, 217, 239; II. vii, 2-3, 103, 107.
Seyllan, II. xxii.
Shales, William, I. 301-302, 312-314.
Sharks, I. 155.
Sicily, II. 102.
Sierra Leone, I. 39, 45-46, 223-224, 282.
Silva, Don Diego Guzman de, I. xv.
Singha II., Raja, II. xxi. *See also* Kandy, King of.
Slave Trade, I. x-xiii, 29 *sqq.*
Smart, Hugh, II. 341-342.
Socotra, I. 158.
Soffala, II. 115, 140, 148.
—— Fort, II. 17, 27, 33.
Sonnings, Romaine, I. 244, *sqq.*

Sonsonate, Province of, I. 268, 270.
Spacke, John, I. 32.
Spinola, Benedick, I. 83, 84.
Stapar, Richard, II. 151, 180, 308.
Stapars, Richard, I. 244, 305, 313.
Starkey, John, II. 184.
Stars, II. 13.
Stefano, Girolamo di S., II. xxii.
Stevens Thomas, I. xx, xxi, xxvii, 152-159, 301, 306, 318, 322.
Storey, James, II. vii-viii.
Story, James, I. 318, 324.
Strabo, II. xxi.
Stropene, Michael, I. 21, 316-317.
Strozzi, Phillipo, II. xix, 6, 284.
Suez, II. 33.
Swallow, The, I. xv, 113-114, 174, 222.
Swan, The, II. xx, 228, 445.
Sweeting, John, I. 10.
—— Robert, I. 195, 199.
Sumatra, I. 291; II. xxi, 42, 46, 83.
Sunda, Straits of, I. 289-290; II. 83.

TAGGARIN, I. 44-5.
Tagus, II. 2.
Tamachos, I. 190.
Tamalscaltepec, Mines, I. 267.
Tamiago, I. 190.
Tammarkadua, II. 302.
Tampico, I. 163, 186, 189-191, 233, 273.
Tangier, II. 28.
Taprobane, II. xxi.
Tarento, I. 149-151.
Tehuantepec, I. 269.
Teneriffe, I. xii, xiii, 10, 34, 153, 222.
Tepeaca, I. 266.
Terceira, I. 23; II. 46, 90-92, 96-97, 100-116, 118-120, 188-190, 195, 197-198.
Tescuco, I. 195, 235, 267.
Testigos, I. 47.
Têtu, Captain, II. xix, 284-285, 290.
Texel, II. vii, 1, 126.
Thin, Captain Henry, II. 131.
Thomson, Sir William, II. 297.
—— Captain, II. 132, 136-138.
Tigelli, II. 170.
Tiger, The, I. 295; II. 139.
Tigris, The, I. 300, 332.
Tin, William, II. vii, 54.
Tisséra, Louis, II. 411.
Tlascala, I. 265.
Tobacco, I. 74-75; II. 307.
Tolou, II. 230, 249, 281.
Tomé, Hernandez, I. xxiv.
Tomson, Robert, I. viii, ix, xvii, 7-23.
Tortuga, I. 49, 65.
Trincomali, II. xxiv, 301, 303, 316-220.
Tripoli, I. 2, 241 *sqq.*, 295-296; II. 28, 182.
—— in Syria, I. 305 *sqq.*
Tunkorle, II. 303.
Turren, Jean, I. 114.
Turtles, I. 65.
Twide, Richard, I. 161 *sqq.*, 187.

ULUA, SAN JUAN D', I. 14; II. xv, xvii; description, I. 97; the disaster there, vii, xvi-xvii, 81 *sqq.*, 269.
Unticaro, I. 143-145.
Ushant, II. 125.

VALDEZ, DIEGO FLORES DE, I. xxiii, 1, 237 *sqq.*
Varre, Don Juan de Velasco de Varre, II. 236, 237.
Vasco da Gama, II. xxii.
Vassal, William, II. 343-344.
Veddaks, The, II. 307.
Vela, Cape de la, I. 176.
Vellas, II. 302.
Velsares, II. 55.
Venetians, I. 135, 322.
Venice, I. 5, 260; II. 22, 28.
Venta Cruz, II. 241-242, 271-273, 278.
Ventry Haven, II. 208.
Vera Cruz, I. 15, 27-28; current prices, 106-108, 209 *sqq.*, 264-275.
Veragua, II. xix, 280-283.
Verde, Cape de, I. 37, 94, 153, 174, 222-223; II. 89.
Vergonse, Padre, II. 340, 428.
Victory, The, II. 187, 190, 193, 197-199.
Vijaya, II. xxi.
Villa Dorta, II. 101.
—— Neuva, Augustine de, I. 227-229.
—— de Praya, II. 102.
—— del Rey, II. 249.
—— Franca, II. 116, 198.
Violet, The, II. 145.
Virginia, I. 281.
Vrient, J. Bapt, II. x.

WAGHENAER, LUCAS JANSZ, *Thresoor der Zeevaert*, II. viii.
—— —— II. xii.
Wallaponahoy, II. 302.
Walsingham, Captain, II. 217, 219.
—— Sir Francis, I. 161, 293.
Welsh Language, I. 169.

Whitcombe, Roger, II. 182.
White Dove, The, II. 120.
White Sea, I. ix.
Winter, Sir Edward, II. 344, 346.
—— Sir William, I. 29.
—— William, I. 83, 132, 166.
William and John, The, I. xv, 105, 108, 174-175, 222 *sqq*.
Wilfrid, William and Nicholas, II. 184-185.
Williamson, John, 183, 184.
Willoughby, I. ix.
Wounds, The Five, II. 146-150.
Wright, Edward, II. xiv, 186.
Wynter, II. xviii.

XALAPA, I. 265.
Xalisco, I. 268.
Xatamas, II. 34, 35, 38.

YATTENOWERA, II. 302, 306.
Yucatan, I. 277.

ZACATECAS SILVER MINES, I. 271, 277.
Zambesi, II. xiii *n*.
Zante, I. 259-260; II. 215.
Zanzibar, II. 44, 82.
Zapatecos, I. 269.
Zeevaert, Thresoor der, II. viii.